

INDIAN TRUTH

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RESTATEMENT OF FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY PROPOSED

The adoption of Senate Current Resolution 11 by Congress would do much to restore Indian confidence in the Government and to pave the way for a constructive program of development of Indian human and economic resources. It would supersede H. Con. Res. 108 of 1953 which formalized the so-called termination policy. S. Con. Res. 11 would encourage Indian self-confidence and foster a greater degree of autonomy and decision making in their own affairs.

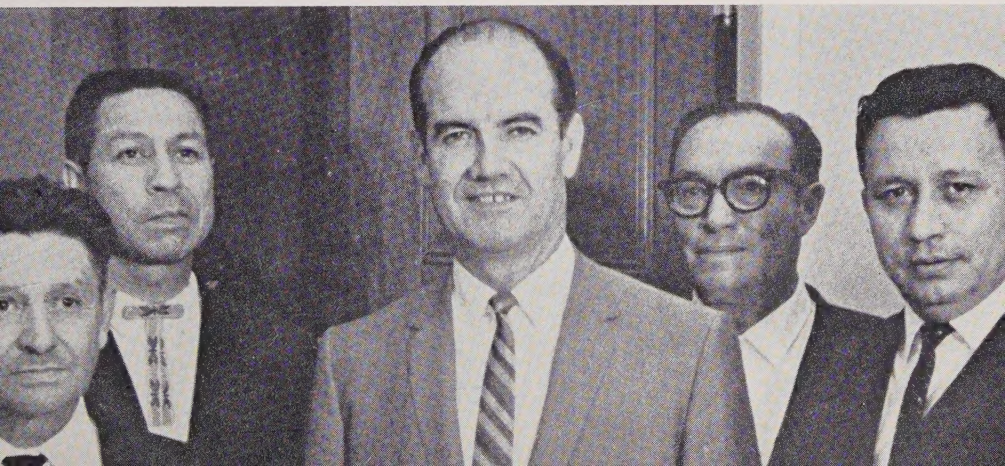
S. Con. Res. 11 was introduced by Senator George McGovern, Chairman of the Senate Subcom-

mittee on Indian Affairs with an impressive list of co-sponsors: Senators Anderson, Bartlett, Burdick, Fannin, Gruening, Harris, Kennedy of New York, Mansfield, Metcalf, Moss, McGee, Nelson, Young of North Dakota, Mundt, and Montoya.

The Resolution, summarized, states the sense of Congress to be that:

1) the deplorable conditions of American Indians and Alaska Natives can be alleviated only through a sustained, positive and dynamic Indian policy with the necessary constructive programs and services directed to the gov-

South Dakota Indians call on Senator George McGovern, Chairman Subcommittee on Indian Affairs.



erning bodies of Indian groups for application in their respective communities, offering self-determination and self-help features for the people involved;

2) new and innovative services are required for full development of Indians and Alaska Natives and their communities. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) should be charged with the responsibility of coordinating the wide range of Federal, State and local resources;

3) Indians and Alaska native governing bodies should be recognized as having full authority to determine the extent and manner of utilizing all available resources for their communities;

4) Indian and Alaska native property is to be protected, Indian culture and identity to be respected, necessary technical guidance to be given, natural resources to be fully developed, inadequate and substandard housing to be corrected, a comprehensive health program provided, and a wide variety of education programs are to be encouraged and developed for both old and young;

5) The Secretary of the Interior is to review the work of the BIA and report to Congress annually, both on progress, and with necessary legislative recommendations

6) Indian and Alaska native communities be given freedom and encouragement to develop their maximum potential.

Claims Commission Continued

Congress has renewed its recognition of the debt of the Nation to the Indian tribes by its passage on April 6th of the bill to extend the life of the Indian Claims Commission until 1972. But for this action the Commission would have expired on April 10.

First established in 1946 to hear claims of Indians against the Federal Government, it was hoped that the work could be completed in ten years. This proved impossible and five year extensions were made in 1956 and 1962.

Most of these claims involve the issue of compensation for lands taken by the Federal Government. Fixing the value of the land at the time it was taken—mostly over 100 years ago—is a task requiring a tremendous amount of research.

In extending the Commission the Congress made certain changes intended to speed up the consideration of cases. These changes may be summarized as follows:

1. The Commission is expanded from three to five members.
2. Instead of a Chief Commissioner the President shall designate one of the members to serve as Chairman.
3. The present three Commissioners shall serve only until June 30, 1968 unless prior to that date the President reappoints them.

4. A trial calendar is to be prepared which will set a date, not later than December 31, 1970, for the trial of each claim pending before the Commission. If a claimant fails to proceed to trial, the Commission is to dismiss the claim unless, for good cause, the Commission grants a continuance for not more than six months. The only exceptions would be due to circumstances or events beyond the control of the parties, either the Indians' attorneys or the Government, and only then for not longer than an aggregate of six months.

During the filing period 583 cases were filed with the Claims Commission. As of March 1, 1967, 236 of these had been adjudicated and the files sent to the National Archives. 103 awards were made to Indian tribes for a total sum of over \$200 million and 133 cases have been dismissed.

Robert L. Bennett, Commissioner of Indian Affairs emphasizes a point!



Omnibus Legislation

The Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs approved the appointment of Robert L. Bennett to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the spring of 1966. At the same time the Committee published a printed report which was very critical of the operation of Indian affairs by the Indian Bureau and the Department of Interior. (The report made clear that this criticism did not reflect in any way on Mr. Bennett.)

Commissioner Bennett was asked to report within 90 days the steps he had taken to begin to meet the problems outlined, and to make periodic reports thereafter on the progress achieved.

Out of this situation came pronouncements from the Secretary's office that at an early date legislative proposals to initiate a new era in Indian affairs would be sent to Congress. The wishes and ambitions of Indians for themselves and their people were to be sought and they were to be consulted at every step in the legislative process.

Pursuant to this, area meetings were held by the Commissioner throughout the Indian country. The first draft of legislation, while representing an attempt to transfer to Indian people through their tribal governments a greater degree of autonomy and power in planning and operating their own affairs, seemed to many Indians and

their friends to include very serious threats to tribal holdings and enterprises.

Following further meetings of the Commissioner and his staff with Indian leaders there have come strong resolutions from the Indians to Commissioner Bennett and Secretary of the Interior Udall, with a letter to President Johnson.

Proposals by the Indians were to the effect that instead of "omnibus" legislation, emphasis should be upon 1) the provision or assurance by the Federal Government of adequate education for Indian people with improved facilities, expanded programs on all levels and more college and graduate fellowships.

2) Provision for economic development through technical assistance, substantial increase in revolving loan funds and guarantee and insurance of loans by the government.

Recent reports are that a proposed bill along the lines recommended by the Indians will be sent soon to the Congress from the Interior Department.

Proposed Transfer of Indian Bureau to HEW Stirs Controversy

The proposal to transfer the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the Interior Department to Health, Education and Welfare which is included in S. 886, "The Department of Natural Resources Act of 1967," has received much attention in Indian affairs circles over the past several weeks. Under S. 886 Inter-

ior would be redesignated the Department of Natural Resources.

According to a **New York Times** article a Presidential study group headed by Dr. Walsh McDermott, Professor of Health and Preventive Medicine at New York Hospital, recommended the transfer. The study group found that Indian problems were fundamentally educational and social and therefore fitted more broadly into HEW. Reportedly the group concluded that "HEW is more people oriented. The Interior view is that the Indians' natural resources should be developed to provide them with wider opportunities."

At a recent conference on National Indian Manpower in Kansas City, HEW Secretary John Gardner discussed the proposed transfer with the 250 to 300 Indian leaders in attendance. Indian individuals and groups have expressed strong opposition to the proposed transfer.

Representative Wayne Aspinall, Chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is on record as being strongly opposed to the transfer, and Representative James A. Haley, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, is quoted as stating that Rep. Aspinall's views "pretty much expressed the views of the subcommittee."

Although the question of the transfer seems not closed there is considerable evidence that it will not be made in the very near future.

Credit is a Crucial Need of Indians

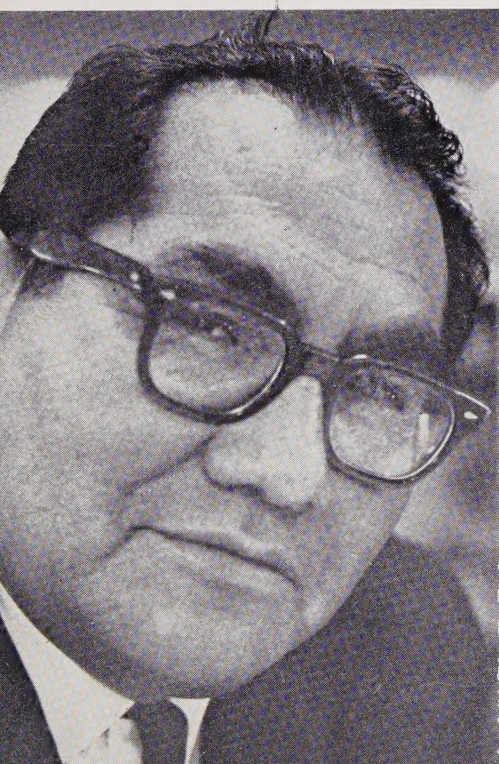
Provision for economic development through technical assistance and adequate credit for funding projects is placed by In-

dians second only to a broad program of education. (see article 'Omnibus' legislation on page 3).

As in the 89th Congress, bills to help meet this need have been introduced in the current Congress. In the House, bills to enlarge the revolving loan fund have been introduced by Representatives Edmondson of Oklahoma (H.R. 538) and Hansen of Idaho (H.R. 675). They have also introduced bills to provide for government guarantee and insurance of loans (Edmondson—H.R. 539 and Hansen—H.R. 676).

Similar bills have been introduced in the Senate by Senator Jackson of Washington. However Senator Jackson's bill to increase the revolving loan fund (S. 304) also includes the Indian

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians.



heirship land bill to which many Indians object strenuously and which should not be a part of the loan fund bill. Senator Jackson's bill to provide for government guarantee and insurance of loans to Indians is practically the same as Edmondson's and Hansen's bills for that purpose.

Carefully drawn measures to provide more credit to Indians and at the same time give maximum possible protection to their land-holdings should be enacted by the 90th Congress.

Indians in Public Life

An impressive number of Indians have recently been elected to public office. Fifteen Indians are currently serving as members of six western state legislatures and other Indians have taken office as judges, county officials and other positions of public trust. Several of these are women.

Representative Lloyd L. House is the first Indian ever elected to the Arizona State Assembly.

Three Navajos were elected to the New Mexico legislature, Senator Tom Lee, Representative Jake C. Chee and Representative Wilbert C. Begay.

Joseph R. Garry, Coeur d'Alene tribe and President of its Tribal Council, was elected to the Idaho State Senate.

In Montana from the Flathead Reservation Jean A. Turnage was sent to the State Senate and Henry Burland was elected a Justice of the Peace.

From the Blackfeet Percy DeWolf was elected to the State Senate of Montana. At the County level Aileen Sparger was elected County Superintendent of Schools; Mary L. Nanini, County Clerk and Recorder; Violet Durham, Clerk of Court; and

Don S. Welch, County Attorney.

In Oklahoma, Clem McSpadden, a Cherokee, has been elected President pro-tem of the State Senate. Also serving in the State Senate are Robert M. Murphy, Cherokee; and John Massey, Choctaw.

Andy Payne, Cherokee, was elected Clerk of the Oklahoma Supreme Court and Judge Hez Bussey, Cherokee, was returned to the Bench of the Oklahoma Court of Criminal Appeals.

Alaskan Natives are well represented in the State Legislature. Elected to the Lower House are two Athapascan Indians.

Jules Wright, President of the Fairbanks Native Association and John Sackett, a 22 year old honor student at the University of Alaska; also William Hensley, an Eskimo of Kotzebue and Frank See, a Tlingit. Ray Christiansen, an Eskimo of Bethel, was elected to the State Senate.

Items in Brief

The National Fellowship of Indian Workers will meet in its Triennial Conference at Association Camp in Estes Park, Colorado July 30, 1967. The Theme of the Conference is to be "The Goals We Seek—Challenges to Church Action in a Changing World."

The purpose of the Fellowship as stated on its Newsletter masthead is "To establish and to foster a unity of spirit and service among Indian missionaries, mission board members, government employees, and other friends of the Indian; to affirm their group consciousness; to share their experiences, and to establish orderly means to discuss any matters affecting the welfare of Indians and Indian missions."

The announcement of the Conference says, "This time a good many of us are going to do a great amount of listening. We are fortunate in that official representatives of several all-Indian organizations will be meeting with us and serving as speakers, reactors, consultants, etc. It will be our chance to get some fresh viewpoints and directions."

For more information write The Rev-

erend E. Russell Carter, National Council of Churches, Room 552, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, 10027.

Richard H. Mueller was dismissed from his job with the Alaska State Division of Lands about two years ago after he discovered that the State was planing to sell "wilderness estates" at the New York World's Fair, on land claimed by Tanacross Indians. Mueller's discovery served to stop the sale of "wilderness estates" but left him without a job. As reported in the Tundra Times, the Division, in dismissing Mueller, used his trip to Fairbanks, on which he had verified the problem with the title. It contended that "He had been unaccountably absent from his position for several days and that he had acted in defiance of established policy in contacting the BIA and BLM in connection with the sale of "wilderness lands."

Mueller appealed the dismissal to the State Personnel Board but was refused a hearing. He then took his case into the State courts. The Superior Court upheld the Personnel Board but recently the State Supreme court reversed the Superior Court decision so that now a hearing must be granted Mueller by the Personnel Board. Testimony will be given on both sides. Mueller's attorney will be able to cross-examine witnesses.

Native leaders say this testimony may be very revealing of the attitude of the State Division of Lands' attitude regarding Native claims.

Wilma Louise Victor a Choctaw Indian, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs' top-ranking woman educator, has been selected as one of the six women in Government to receive the 1967 Federal Women's Award. Miss Victor is Superintendent of Intermountain School in Brigham City, Utah, a boarding school for 2,100 Navajo children from Arizona, New Mexico and Utah.

The Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity has announced that within three months, more than 90,000 indigent Navajo Indians will have access to the knowledge and services of fourteen skilled advocates. Five office locations are being selected to put the attorneys within easy reach of the people. Headquarters of the program are at Ft. Defiance, Arizona, with field offices being established at Shiprock and Crownpoint in New Mexico, and the Arizona locations of Tuba City and Chinle. The Office of Economic Opportunity has made an \$875,000 grant to finance this program. It is reported that the Navajos look forward to the

help of the "Agaditahe", the Navajo term for attorney, which means "He who wins arguments".

A Guide To Our Clinic Services, a bilingual (Cherokee and English) educational booklet, was recently printed and is to be circulated among beneficiaries of the USPHS Indian Hospital at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, during National Hospital Week, May 7-13. This booklet, the first of its kind in Cherokee, is the result of months of preparation and the cooperation of several Cherokee Indians and the staffs of the Division of Indian Health and of the Carnegie Cross-Cultural Education Project. The booklet is designed to assist hospital clinic patients and their families to better understand clinic procedures and the doctors' use of the hospital helping staff.

The Cherokee text was originally done by Hiner Doublehead. The second printing was completed with editing and advice by Reverend Key Ketcher, Alec England, and other Cherokees. The Cherokee typing was done by Andrew Dreadfulwater, Cherokee, and the pictures by Jim and Catherine Red Corn, Osage.

Armin Saeger, Jr., Clinical Social Worker at the Tahlequah Indian Hospital, helped to prepare and coordinate the work done to complete the booklet. E. D. Farley, Jr., M.D., is the Service Unit Director of the Indian Hospital at Tahlequah.

Books and Pamphlets

The Indian, America's Unfinished Business. Report of the Commission on the Rights Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian. Compiled by William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla. 1966. 236 pages. \$5.95.

The Commission responsible for this treatise was established in 1957 to make "a fresh up-to-date appraisal of the status of the Indians" because of the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1953 by the 83rd Congress "setting forth the policy of terminating 'as fast as possible' the special relationship existing between American Indians and the federal government".

The book is divided into seven chapters under the following headings:

1. Introduction
2. Tribal Governments
3. Economic Development
4. Bureau of Indian Affairs
5. Education
6. Health
7. Policies Which Impede Indian Assimilation

Each chapter has numerous subheadings. A careful reading of the book is certain to give anyone a much better understanding of the Indian people. The chapter subheadings and a comprehensive index make it possible to pick up information about many particular questions in a very short time. A series of recommendations is given at the end of each chapter. To some these may seem dictatorial because there is little or no amplification accompanying the recommendations.

In addition to an understanding of the Indian and his problems to be gained from the first reading the book will be found valuable for frequent reference regarding specific questions.

* * *

The Indians and the Nurse by Elinor D. Gregg, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla. 1965. 173 pages.

Miss Gregg's use of humor and the of her work as a Red Cross public health nurse among American Indians from 1922 to 1938. One of the two first Red Cross nurses working among Indians, Miss Gregg spent her first two years at the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Sioux reservations. After two years, mostly at Rosebud, she was offered and accepted the position of supervisor of Public Health Nursing in the Medical Division of the Indian Bureau.

Nearly half the book is given over to her pioneer work and experiences at Rosebud. The remainder deals with the problems of the organization and staffing of a professional nursing service in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Miss Gregg's use of humor and the dramatic make for a readable account of what could be dull, difficult and very depressing.

Seeing the recruitment of trained nurses as an essential part of her job Miss Gregg could report with satisfaction that when she entered the Indian service (1922) there were 15 graduate nurses. When she left (1938) there were over six hundred and fifteen.

(The number of nurses in the Indian Health Service in 1966 is given as 940. There are now a total of 5,200 staff members of the Indian Health Services. Even so recent reports of the Public Health Service state that the health status of Indian and Alaska Native population is about that of the U.S. of 25 years ago.)

This book will have special interest for western and Indian historians and for those of us who lived through the times described and experienced their frustrations, joys and rewards.



WILLIAM HENSLEY, Eskimo, Member of Alaska Legislature. This young man gives promise of going to high places! All photographs by Theodore B. Hetzel

INDIANS OF THE LOWER PLATEAU, just issued, is the latest of a series of attractive booklets done by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

These booklets give an capsule style both the history and the present day status of many of the Indian tribes.

Other titles in the series are: *Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts of Alaska; Indians of Arizona; Indians of California; Indians of the Central Plains; Indians of the Dakotas; Indians of the Great Lakes Area; Indians of the Gulf Coast States; Indians of Montana, Wyoming; Indians of New Mexico; Indians of North Carolina; Indians of the Northwest and Indians of Oklahoma.* 15¢ each from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Gov-

ernment Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

* * *

INDIANS AND ESKIMO CHILDREN is a 48 page, profusely illustrated booklet, also by the Bureau, (8" x 10" pages). Carefully chosen pictures with terse and meaningful captions give an excellent overall picture of the Indians and Eskimos. 35¢ from the Superintendent of Documents.

* * *

FAMOUS INDIANS, A COLLECTION OF SHORT BIOGRAPHIES. Warriors, statesmen, prophets and scholars; all importantly linked to the history of our country; also by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. 48 pages, 8" x 10"; 35¢ from the Superintendent of Documents.

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Continued

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NEW DIRECTIONS IN INDIAN EDUCATION

Carl L. Marburger*

In this discussion of New Directions in Indian Education I would like to start by talking for just a moment about the present status of Indian education. At this time we have approximately 50,000 Indian children in the Federal schools. There are about 9,000 in Mission schools and roughly 152,00 attending public schools on or near the reservations. We have no count on the Indian youngsters attending schools in big cities. So I have the responsibility for about 50,000 Indian young people in the Federal schools. We have a total of 254 schools scattered in 17 states, 83 of them for example in Alaska, and in many cases in very isolated and rural areas. There are many one room schools in Alaska. The greatest number of our young people, are in Arizona and New Mexico and Alaska. Of these schools 81 are Boarding Schools and 173 Day Schools. About 33,000 of our children attend the boarding schools and about 17,000 attend the day schools.

One of the particular thrusts in this Bureau is hopefully to reverse those figures so that more and more of our young people can be attending the Day Schools and less and less the Boarding Schools.

In addition to those numbers we have 4,000 young people who attend what we call our bordertown schools where they are domiciled in Federal dormitories and attend the public school in the district in which that dormitory exists. These are scattered primarily through the Southwest part of the country. We also provide what we call Johnson-O'Malley funds which give additional

support for young people attending public schools. The Office of Education provides additional help from Federal funds for construction and special programs for young people who live on the reservations where there is no tax base for that local community and therefore need Federal assistance.

Interior Department or HEW

I would like to tell you about the present status of the so-called transfer to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare issue. This has been very disturbing to a lot of people. Senators Morse and Fannin, when they were discussing the Elementary-Secondary Education Act amendment, which for

Carl L. Marburger



* (This article is the address (somewhat abridged), given at the Eighty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Indian Rights Association (May 9, 1967) by Carl L. Marburger, Ed.D., Assistant Commissioner for Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.)

the first time brought Indian children in Federal schools under the Elementary-Secondary Act raised the question, "Where should Indian Education be housed? In the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Interior, or in Health, Education and Welfare?" As a result of that question Secretaries Udall and Gardner appointed a joint task force to examine the issues. I was a member of that task force.

We submitted our report and it basically said that the Indian Education should stay where it is, in the Department of the Interior. This was particularly the result of our having met with Indian tribal leadership at a Denver meeting. They thought that it would be inappropriate to make the transfer and indeed that it was seen as a move towards further termination.

Education—A Line Office

Let me try to describe some of the things that have happened since Mr. Bennett came in. I came in shortly thereafter. The first thing we thought necessary was to establish my office as a line office. Prior to my coming, education was a Branch of the Community Service Division. The Chief of the Education Branch was a staff officer and had no line responsibilities in the field. So the first thing that we did was to establish a line relationship to the field so that the field personnel, the area office personnel, education personnel, boarding school superintendents, would be accountable and responsible to the Assistant Commissioner for Education. I think that it is impossible to run a school system without this kind of line authority so that someone can be held accountable for what is happening to the children in the field.

Policy Statements Published

The second thing we tried was to establish some policy statements regarding Education. Unfortunately these had not previously been put in writing and so I would like to talk to you briefly about two major policy statements which have been published.

I am a strong believer in education of children in or near the community in which they live. Simultaneously the community is being educated and involved in the educational process. The adults have available adult education and various other kinds of classes. The financial benefits that accrue from a school being in a particular community will accrue to the tribe and not some outside community. We do have many problems related to isolation and lack

of roads. In Alaska particularly, this is going to be a nearly impossible problem for some time, because of these conditions. But more and more I want to place schools on reservations so that the Indian tribal people can become members of the Boards of Education and can have a strong voice in the education of their own young people.

There has been action this year, looking at the off reservation boarding schools and the possibility of phasing some of them out. This does not mean that I think the boarding school is obsolete. As a matter of fact, many educators today are currently saying that maybe what we need to have are boarding schools or half-way houses or other kinds of schools such as this to take care of the disadvantaged children that are in our cities. I think that we have had a great deal of experience in this and can indeed demonstrate to many educators nationally how effective a boarding arrangement can be.

So we will have boarding schools, particularly for our social case problems where there are broken homes and where conditions in homes make necessary some type of foster home care.

Federal or State Schools

The second major policy thrust is a movement towards public schools. I don't believe that the Bureau should continue indefinitely in the business of educating our Indian children. This is a state responsibility and the public schools should begin to assume this responsibility as indeed many of them have. We do not, however, plan on transferring schools just for the sake of transferring them to the public schools. Unless the Indian tribal leadership agrees, and unless the public schools can provide a quality educational program for Indian children, there will be no transfers. We have transferred some 24 schools in the last year to public school systems under the conditions that I have described.

Need for Personnel

There are other changes I've tried to implement. When I came in I had one person in my central office staff responsible for the whole curriculum for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. One person was responsible for inservice training, publications and recruitment of teachers. And so on, right on down the line. I am a firm believer in Parkinson's Law and I know that you can build empires, but you must start at a certain minimum level and it was necessary to build a staff. We received special permission from the Civil Serv-

ice Commission to hire persons from both within and without the Bureau, both within and without the Federal Service. We have reached out and brought in people to fill various curriculum spots and to fill the other positions that I thought were so crucial to the school system.

I have now, on board or coming on board as of this month, an English teacher as a second language specialist, a science specialist, a math specialist and a specialist in guidance. There was no guidance person and no social work person in the central office.

Kindergartens Needed

Another problem when I came to the Bureau was the lack of a kindergarten. This seemed to be a special need because of the large number of non-English speaking beginners. I cannot promise that we will get them but we have now before the Bureau of the Budget a request for 50 kindergartens to start this coming September and sufficient funds to build a kindergarten in the coming fiscal year for every elementary school in the Bureau. I am optimistic that this supplementary appropriation will go through.

When I came in I felt that if any school system in this country should be an exemplary system, it should be the Federal System. We have the resources, the finances, and the talent and it should be the system that demonstrates to the public school systems what can be done, particularly with disadvantaged children.

Building The Teaching Staff

Another one of our supplemental appropriations has been an attempt to raise our teachers salaries to the point where they are comparable to the public school systems. Our teachers work 12 months a year, rather than 10 months, and their salaries are not comparable to those of the surrounding public school systems. We have had considerable success with the recruiting of our teachers, because many of them bring what I call a peace corps syndrome of energy, enthusiasm, intellectual concern and competence and they want to work with Indian children and Indian people. We are now, however, in a market, where we simply cannot hire sufficient teachers of the quality I think we need for Indian children. Sidney Harris, a syndicated columnist, wrote a small article about teachers and it says to me the kind of teacher I want in the classroom in the Bureau of Indian Affairs: "The teachers who meant the most to me in my

school life were not necessarily those who knew the most, but those who gave out of the fullness of themselves, who confronted me face to face as it were with a humanhood that awoke and allured my own small and trembling soul and caused me to take hold of my own existence with my own two hands. Such persons, of course, are extremely rare and they are worth more than you can ever pay them. It should be the task of a good society to recruit and develop these personalities for safeguarding our children's future, and our failure to do so is our most monstrous sin of omission." These are the teachers I want in every classroom in the Bureau. Salary is not going to do it, but salaries will enable us, I believe, to bring more of this kind of teacher into our classrooms.

I want the kind of teacher who does not reject children. A man named Rosenthal at the University of North Dakota did an experiment with white rats. He gave to a group of graduate students white rats and said, "These are smart, swinging, bright and intelligent rats. Run them through the maze." They did this over many repeated trials. These rats did well. They achieved the cheese or whatever they gave them at the end of the maze, and they did it in good time. Then he gave to the graduate students another group of rats and said, "These rats are stupid, dull, worthless, no-account rats. They haven't got it, but do the best you can and see what happens. And with many repeated trials and under scientific conditions they ran these rats through the maze. Few of these rats achieved the cheese and if they did most of them achieved it in slow time. And then Dr. Rosenthal informed his graduate students that they had been working with the same group of rats. And his hypothesis is that the expectation of the researcher contaminates the results.

If this is true with non-human subjects like rats, if the bias of the experimenter contaminates the results, then what about the teacher in the classroom, who through subtlety and nuance rejects the child. You see I think it is legitimate behavior on the part of the teacher to correct behavior, if, at the same time we don't reject the child. These non-rejecting teachers are the teachers that we need in our schools with Indian children.

We have asked for a substantial amount of money in the supplemental appropriation for what I call curriculum improvement, which means pri-

marily class size reduction, the bringing in of many curriculum specialists, and much in-service training to help work with our teachers in such things as English as a second language, in math, and in science and in other fields.

Study Materials Need Revision

We do badly by our Indian children in our text books and in our materials. We need a comprehensive review, bringing in the specialists from all areas, to pull together the curriculum material which exists. If materials exist that are usable, fine, but if they are not, then we must set up writing teams to prepare the kind of material appropriate for Indian children. This is a prodigious task. Because we have so many different tribal groups it is almost impossible to prepare separate materials for each one. But rather, hopefully, we can do a kind of generic material that will be appropriate to most of our Indian young people. This is in the works. I hope it passes, and if it does, then we're talking about something like \$6 million available for these three things: the Kindergarten, the teachers salaries and the quality instruction and class size reduction.

What Size Classes

I am a believer that class size reduction *per se* does not necessarily make the difference. The good teacher can deal effectively with 30 children or with 25 or 20. The poor teacher if she has fewer children often does harder what she was doing wrong in the first place, and so therefore the poor teacher, I think, does penalize children in small classes. So class size is no panacea. I think that when you are dealing with children who bring language difficulties, who bring serious disadvantages to the classroom in terms of social deprivation, then I think that the class size becomes a very critical factor and so I am working toward a class size of 20; and for those youngsters retarded two or more years, I am working for a 15 class size.

Basic Information Lacking

In addition to these things, when I came to the Bureau one of the biggest lacks I felt was the paucity of information. This is the largest geographic school system in the country. It covers 17 states with its 254 schools. And just the communications problems are prodigious. Just wondering what is happening "out there" is a very difficult problem. Information and data simply were not appropriate. So we have established what we call the Program

Planning and Budgeting System so that we can obtain these kinds of data.

What are we doing on English as the second language? What we are doing on Navajo is different than what we are doing on Papago and what we are doing on Papago is different than what we are doing with the Sioux and I need to know this. So we have written several contracts with specialists and with corporations, private and non-profit groups to secure this kind of information.

We have a contract, for example, with the Center for Applied Linguistics, to do a study and make recommendations in the field of English as a second language. The same with a group in Albuquerque on vocational education. Research money is now becoming available through the Office of Education and so we are doing many studies with them. You see, the Indian children in Federal Schools have not been eligible for a single Federal Program up to last year. We couldn't take part in Manpower Programs, NDE Institutes. We couldn't take part in any Federal legislation, because we are of the Federal Government. And so in every case it takes amendatory legislation in order to include Indian children in Federal schools. This is the process we are going through now in obtaining amendatory legislation or whatever is necessary so that Indian children can participate in these various Federal Programs.

Secretary Gardner of HEW, has made a commitment to do everything he can to assist the Indian children in Federal schools, with all of the resources of the Health, Education and Welfare Department. So I am very optimistic that there are going to be a lot of people in the Federal Government working toward improving the education of our children in these Federal Schools.

Help From Elementary-Secondary Education Act

Let me talk to you very briefly about the one Federal program in which we were able to participate, the Elementary Education Act of 1965. When it first came out the Indian children in the Federal schools were the only children in the entire country who could not participate in this program. We were approved in January 1967 and because Senators Morse and Fannin wanted that study I told you about earlier, a restriction was placed on Indian children in Federal schools that we had to spend the money by June 30 of 1967. This did not apply to any other children in the country. So be-

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tween January and June of this year we had to mount, draft and implement all the programs for the Elementary-Secondary Education Act. We have some \$5 million worth of programs in operation and many of them are very exciting.

I recently was host to 50 little Navajo children from Tes Nos Pas who came to Washington on a singing tour and who were able to see Washington and the President and just about everybody. And the pleasing thing to me about the children was their answer when I asked them what was the most exciting thing that they had seen. You'll never guess! It was television in their rooms in the motels.

Many exciting enrichment programs are under way. Navajo itself, has a million dollar program for English as a second language and it is moving along very successfully. There are remedial programs of all kinds, trips of all kinds for these children. Unfortunately unless there is amendatory legislation on this bill before June 30th, everything will stop and we will have to wait again until next November or December, until the legislation and the appropriations are passed so that we can start up all over again.

**Leo T. Connor, President of
INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION**



Much Remains To Be Done

I posed some of these problems and some of the movements that we have made because I wanted you to be aware that we have only scratched the surface. We have only begun to make a significant difference in the lives of our Indian children, but I think the Congress, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and certainly the President and the Secretary of the Interior have made this the year of the American Indian, with particular emphasis on the education of our Indian young people. I'm optimistic and thrilled with the progress that has been made and disappointed that we haven't made more progress.

These are some of the new directions in Indian education and I'm delighted to have had the opportunity to be with you and tell you about them. Thank you.

Revised "Omnibus Bill"

The proposed "Indian Resources Development Act of 1967", the new name given to the revised draft of the Interior Department's "Omnibus Bill", was introduced (by request) in the Senate on May 18 as S.1816 by Senator Henry M. Jackson, chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. A companion bill (H.R. 10560) was introduced (by request) in the House of Representatives on June 6 by James A. Haley, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs (for himself and Wayne N. Aspinall, Chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs).

This bill was prepared in the Interior Department after repeated conferences with Indian leaders, attorneys for Indian tribes and representatives of Indian-interest organizations.

With the appointment of Robert L. Bennett as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, last year there began discussions, particularly within the Interior Department, of legislation to provide greater autonomy to Indians in the management of their affairs, in the development of their resources, and generally in decisions affecting their welfare.

Early proposals for such legislation seemed to the Indians and their friends to be aimed at the dissipation of Indian land and other resources rather than at their protection and development.

Indian Attitudes Ably Presented

Into the process of bringing about

INDIAN TRUTH

the change from the original and highly objectionable proposed bill to the version currently under consideration has gone much constructive thinking and effort on the part of the Indian leadership. Commissioner Bennett first held about eight conferences with Indians in as many areas of the Indian country. These were followed by at least three meetings in Washington or other centers between Interior Department personnel and representative Indian leadership. This bill reflects the influence of this process.

The provisions dealing with individual and tribal property management certificates, to which there was widespread and intense objection and which might have opened the way for major losses of trust land base, have been eliminated. The heirship provisions also have been dropped.

There are provisions for credit to Indians on a scale such as has never before been available to them. Insufficient credit has been one of the obstacles faced by Indians as they have undertaken to develop their economic and human resources.

Indian tribes and groups should give careful consideration to the effects that would flow from the enactment of this proposed legislation. It covers a wide range of subject matter; it is long and complex.

As suggested above, the bill as introduced is a great improvement over previous versions. We have noted some of the advantages. There remain however in the bill provisions that range from questionable to objectionable. Without going into detail some of these are new possibilities in taxation, broad powers for tribes to sell and mortgage tribal assets, the repeal of the trading license laws, terminating individual membership in a tribe, and the escheat of small, individually-owned interests in tribal property to the United States rather than to the tribe. Some provisions can probably be amended to make them useful; others should be entirely eliminated.

Hearings Expected

It is expected that there will be hearings on the bill, possibly in the field this summer or autumn. The most urgent matters under consideration are the need for additional credit for Indian economic programs. As a practical measure to meet the need of Indians for credit, we suggest that the increase in the revolving loan fund and the provisions for the guaranty and insurance of loans receive prompt at-

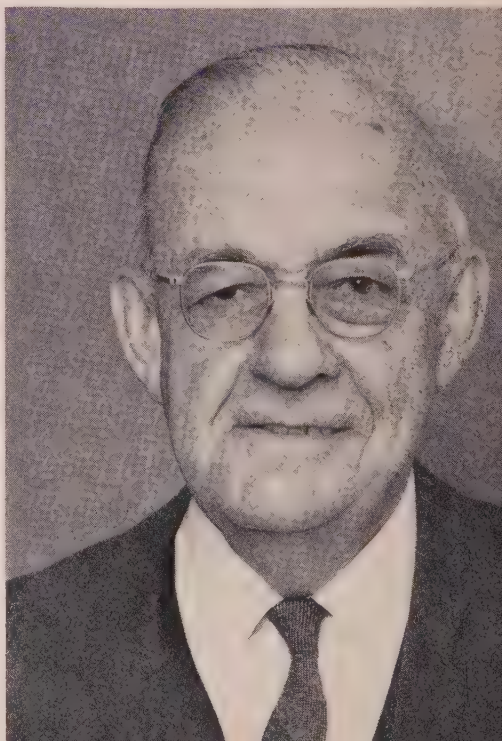
tention and consideration for enactment in the current session of Congress.

Perhaps one of the most important facts in connection with the development of this proposed legislation is that by their constructive position and aggressive action the Indians have been able, as never before, to bring about changes in proposed legislation before its introduction into the Congress.

Credit goes also to the Interior Department and the Indian Bureau for their patience in the development of the legislation and for actually agreeing to many of the changes proposed by the Indians. Too often in the past the Indians were expected to rubber stamp action already taken or decided upon by the Department.

In summary it is our judgment that these bills represent a great step forward on the part of the Indian leadership in presenting their views effectively to the Interior Department. By the Department it represents a new and mature recognition of the Indians as competent citizens with rights to be treated as such. Regardless of the passage or failure of this proposed legislation in Congress we trust it represent a new day of respect, understanding and cooperation between the Indians and the Government.

Lawrence E. Lindley



INDIAN TRUTH

Appropriations for Indian Affairs, 1968 Fiscal Year

	1967	1968	1968
	Appropriations	Budget Estimate	Appropriations
Education & Welfare Services	\$118,629,300	\$129,478,000	\$126,478,000
Resources Management	45,186,000	47,608,000	47,179,000
Construction	56,118,000	40,407,000	40,770,000
Road Construction	16,889,000	19,000,000	18,000,000
Revolving Fund for Loans		450,000	450,000
General Admin. Expense	4,773,000	4,627,000	4,627,000
Indian Health Activities	75,536,000	82,133,000	82,005,000
Construction of Indian Health Facilities	14,489,000	23,636,000	16,848,000
Indian Claims Commission	394,000	500,000	500,000
	<u>\$332,014,300</u>	<u>\$347,839,000</u>	<u>\$336,857,000</u>

Alaska Natives' Land Claims

Two very different bills to provide for the settlement of land claims of Alaska Natives have been introduced in Congress by Senator Gruening. Both bills were introduced "by request", meaning that the Senator does not assume responsibility for the content of the bills. On June 16 he introduced S.1916 which he says was drafted in the Interior Department. This bill has met with strong opposition from Alaska natives speaking primarily through the Alaska Federation of Natives. The Federation sent to Senator Gruening a draft of a bill prepared by them. That bill he introduced on June 26 as S.2020 (Mr. Pollock, of Alaska, has introduced the latter bill in the House of Representatives as H. R. 11,164).

When introducing these bills Sena-

tor Gruening correctly emphasized the importance of action by Congress to settle the land claims of the Alaska natives. He pointed out that Alaska's first Organic Act of 1884 provided:

The Indians or other persons . . . shall not be disturbed in the possession of any lands actually in their use or occupation or now claimed by them . . .

The terms under which such persons (the Indians or other persons) may acquire title to such lands are reserved for future legislation by Congress.

After eighty-eight years and with greatly changed conditions in Alaska the urgency of Congressional action in this situation is multiplied many times.

Important provisions of the Interior Department bill were for certain types of land grants to the Native villages by administrative action as partial settlement of their claims. The conditions placed upon some of these grants are vigorously opposed by the natives. For example, the ceiling on a grant to any one group would be 50,000 acres. Provision for further claims to be heard by the Court of Claims are hedged about with conditions that seem to make sure that the natives would recover very little or nothing in judgments.

The basic provision of the bill sponsored by the natives is to grant jurisdiction to the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate and render judgment in claims the Natives have against the United States.

The provisions of the bill proposed by the Alaska Natives seem much more direct and fair than the bill submitted by the Department. Stated very simply and directly the Native bill provides that:

1. With regard to land which has not been disposed of by the United States and to which the Court of

Indian Rights Secretary Honored

At Commencement exercises on June 11, 1967, Earlham College, on the 50th anniversary of his graduation from Earlham, conferred "the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon Lawrence Eldon Lindley, Friend and Champion of the American Indians and Symbol of Conscience to his Countrymen." In his letter notifying Lawrence Lindley of the award Landrum Bolling, President of Earlham, wrote:

"By your thoughtful and concerned application of your knowledge, skills and insights you have made an important contribution to the handling of serious human problems. You have helped to stir the consciences of your fellow citizens and your fellow Quakers. Your life has combined in high measure the ideals of personal competence and public service with which Earlham has long been identified. We want to express publicly our admiration, our respect, and our gratitude."

Claims determines that the Natives of Alaska have Indian title the court shall award the Natives of Alaska a judgment of ownership of such lands.

2. If the court finds that the Natives of Alaska had Indian title to lands which the United States has disposed of to third parties then the court shall render judgment on behalf of the Natives of Alaska for such amount as the court shall find to be the fair market value of such lands.

Senator Gruening is asking for hearings in Alaska on these bills at the earliest possible dates, probably late summer or early fall.

Although the Department and the Natives now seem far apart in their proposals of methods for solving the Natives land problems, action to bring about a solution is urgently needed.

The Interior Department should promptly undertake serious negotiations with the natives to work out the best possible solution of this most difficult problem.

Rampart Dam Not Approved

A recent report of the Interior Department concludes that the huge Rampart Dam on the Yukon River should not be built at this time. Some reasons given are:

1. It is not the most desirable means of aiding the economic development of Alaska.

2. The electroprocess industry would not be attracted to Alaska by the availability of large blocks of power from Rampart Dam.

3. Rampart power could not be sold at competitive rates to users in the Pacific Northwest.

4. The lake behind the dam would be larger than Lake Erie and would destroy habitat for thousands of moose and would permanently destroy nesting grounds for geese, ducks, and other birds.

The report was made to the Army



Phyllis Alexander Athabascan of Nenana, Alaska. Picture taken when she was a student nurse in Philadelphia. In 1966 she was chosen "Miss University of Alaska" beauty queen.

All photographs by Theodore B. Hetzel

Engineers. Secretary Udall indicated that he would be "surprised" if the Corps of Army Engineers would recommend authorization of the project at this time.

This report will come as good news to many Alaska Natives of the Yukon Valley.

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Founded December 15, 1882, by Herbert Welsh, Henry S. Pancoast, and others

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ARMIN L. SAEGER, JR., *Executive Director and Editor INDIAN TRUTH*

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SPRING SUMMER, 1968

VOL. 45 No. 1

ALASKA'S MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

Right of Indian Title

1. Indian title has been recognized by the U.S. courts.
2. There are a number of ways to extinguish Indian Title. Among them are:
 - (a) Just war declared by Congress
 - (b) Negotiated treaty
 - (c) Due process of law under the U.S. Constitution
3. Indian title to Alaska (except for that land to which Indian title has been extinguished) still rests, we contend, with the Alaska Natives and Congress has reserved unto itself the right to determine the disposition of this land. But, in doing so, should allow just compensation for all lands to which title is extinguished or which is taken.
4. Native interests in Alaska lands have been recognized in the following:
 - (a) The treaty of cession of Alaska from Russia
 - (b) The Organic Act of May 17, 1884
 - (c) The Act of August 24, 1912
 - (d) The Act of June 19, 1935
 - (e) The Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946
 - (f) The Alaska Statehood Act of 1958.
5. The native right to protest

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

ALEUTS, ESKIMOS NOW 'INDIANS'

The Indian Claims Commission early in May ruled the Aleuts and Eskimos can now be identified as 'Indians' for claims purposes.

The ruling dispensed the argument of the United States Department of Justice's Division of Land and Natural resources that Aleuts and Eskimos are not identifiable Indian groups, and therefore, cannot make valid claims against the United States.

... (They) therefore, can pursue their claims as do other Indians in the U.S.

TUNDRA TIMES, May 17, 1968

Editorial Reprint From Brunswick, Maine, "Times-Record", May 14, 1968

MISSISSIPPI AGAIN—It is the silence of Maine people more than any other trait which does more harm than any words. Those who plead for justice in the South, for example, generally get an active response from those who uphold injustice. The Ku Klux Klan has murdered too many blacks to allow good Southerners to remain silent, and over the last decade the power of the Klan has waned, even in Mississippi, the stronghold of white supremacy.

But in Maine, no one responds to those who ask equal justice for the Passamaquoddy Indian. There is no anti-Indian KKK that builds support for the Passamaquoddy by assaulting the value system of unconcerned Yankees. There is only the totally defeating silence of those Yankees who listen to overwhelming evidence of injustice, but say nothing. It is a terrifying response, this silence. It can not be attacked as immoral, because in one warped way, it is moral. And the silent men and women can not be provoked into speech, no matter how bold the provocation, nor how flagrant the abuse of justice.

This newspaper's articles on the recent examples of Washington County

(Continued on Page 12)

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(Continued from Page 1, Col. 1)

the taking of their lands is a valid constitutional right.

The Secretary of the Interior is empowered by Congress to administer the laws enacted which affect natives of Alaska. Among them is a responsibility to protect native property rights.

Alaska Land Freeze

1. The "Land Freeze" was instituted by the Secretary of the Interior by virtue of his responsibility to administer the laws enacted by Congress, protecting the rights of Alaska's natives. It has the effect of preserving the "status quo" until Congress resolves native interest in the land.

2. When Congress granted statehood to Alaska, it failed to provide in the Act language to permit the extinguishment of Indian title, compatible with state land selection provisions, or to provide for a method of compensation for this extinguishment of title.

3. No United States citizen may be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation. (Amendment No. 4 Constitution of the U.S.)

4. Alaska natives are United States citizens within the full meaning of the term. They are not wards of the United States Government under the guardianship of the Secretary of the Interior Department. The Secretary, however, is legally obligated to protect their property rights, and so he instituted the land freeze to protect this right.

5. (a) The B.I.A. maintains and operates segregated schools.

(b) Natives do not receive fee title to land under the Native Allotment Act.

The Tlingit-Haida Indians were granted permission to sue the United States for just compensation for 18 million acres taken from them in establishing the Tongass National Forest in Southeastern Alaska, by the Act of June 19, 1935.

The Tongass National Forest is estimated to contain 100 billion board feet of commercial timber, valued at 200 million dollars on a stumpage basis and having a productive potential in perpetuity exceeding 20 million dollars annually from forest products alone.

The U. S. Court of Claims found in favor of the Tlingit-Haida in 1968 and awarded less than 8 million dollars for this land after 34 years of litigation. The estimated true land value of Southeastern Alaska is approximately \$110.00 per acre or \$1,980,000,000.00; yet the court awarded 43¢ per acre or \$7,740,000.00 in this case.

The Secretary of the Interior had no part in determining this value. He came to Alaska, however, in November 1967, and proposed a possible method of compensation which would be more just to Alaska natives for final settlement of all Alaska, and so the "Outer Continental Shelf" concept came to be.

Governor Hickel, Secretary Udall, and 37 native leaders in joint cooperation drafted a compromise bill, S. 2906, based on a land settlement of **40 million acres of land in fee to be retained by native villages and associations**, and adequate compensation to be derived from the Outer Continental Shelf for extinguish-

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 1)

Annual Meeting Honors Retiring General Secretary

Presenting Dr. Lawrence E. Lindley with a citation for his many years of devoted service, Leo Conner, President of the Indian Rights Association, stated that his own words could not improve on the citation which he read as follows:

"LAWRENCE E. LINDLEY: Kindly, Quaker gentleman; steadfast friend of the American Indian; dauntless champion of his rights. Your lifetime devotion to the cause of our brothers has been plenty proof to us that there have been giants of the earth, not only in Genesis, but as a continuing factor in human progress. Your faith in humanity is demonstrated by half a century of unceasing service in this field. It has been an inspiration to all who share your concern. Your achievements have brought courage and a better life to countless numbers of your fellow men.

As revered General Secretary of the Indian Rights Association, for thirty-eight years, you have been its respected representative in the halls of government and in the council house. The Association recognizes in you a spirit it rejoices to claim.

Grateful for your many achievements, and with feelings of affection, it is proud to award you the distinction of **GENERAL SECRETARY EMERITUS.**"

Also, Thomas Wistar, Jr., on behalf of the Association Board, presented Lawrence Lindley with an inscribed clock stating, "... it is my privilege and honor to present you with this token of our love and esteem—a kind of 'wampum belt' which binds our hearts to you."

Following these presentations, Lawrence Lindley, looking backward, spoke to the meeting on, "The Past Work of the Indian Rights Association"; and Armin Saeger, Jr. (the new Executive Director), looking forward, addressed the group on "Indian Rights In Today's World." **David Montana, Papago Indian**, provided relaxation and refreshment between the addresses by his splendid Indian dancing.

Leo T. Conner (I.) President, IRA, reading citation to Lawrence E. Lindley, naming him General Secretary Emeritus of the Association.



A shocking report telling of **Hunger Across Our Land** of 'plenty' was released in Washington, D.C., in April, 1968.

The Report, while national in scope, cited Indian reservations (along with migrant farm laborers) as showing evidence of "the worst of all health conditions" in the nation.

Not very long ago, a Public Health Nutritionist wrote: "Nutritional diseases constitute the most serious and widespread health threat throughout the Navajo Indian health area." **AND**, Sargent Shriver testified in July, 1967: "When I was in **ALASKA**, I saw problems which are in Alaska as challenging or as tragic as perhaps those in Mississippi. For example I found out that out of 35,000—37,000 poor people—and I mean desperately poor people—in Alaska, something like 142 (people) are getting food assistance in toto."

This report, submitted by the **Citizen's Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States**, is must reading for those of us who are largely unaware that real hunger exists in the U.S., and who feel that remedies should be immediately effected.



**TRIBUTE TO DR. MARTIN
LUTHER KING**

**"American Indians Need One
Chief As Great Leader"***

Dear Editor:

Though they are many and we are few, we have a lot in common with these people who, so recently, suffered a great loss.

Our great grandfathers were forced into reservations; theirs were brought here in chains.

No matter how imperfect our present ways of life, we in our generation have seen worse.

But together, we share the land; and now, this is our country; this is our home.

With the help of the Almighty and the aid of our white cousins (who, so vastly outnumber us), we can make our way of life, in our country, what we will.

CONSOLATION

Martin Luther King
Gave his life,
For Peace he would bring
Instead of strife.

Patience black brothers,
On this earth
There'll be no others
To top your worth.
For shameful chains,
You meander,
From trouble and pains.
Emerge leader.

You lost a great man.
If one such
Good chief led our clan,
We could boast much.

SIGNED: Blue Shell
Rosebud, S.D. 57570

*Rosebud Sioux Herald,
April 22, 1968

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

John Belindo, Executive Director of the NCAI, has said that the NCAI could not (at that time) endorse the march as an official policy because all tribes did not endorse it. "Complete success seems doubtful," Belindo said, "and it is this doubt which restrains most of the membership of NCAI from giving its endorsement to the campaign." His statement, however, did offer moral support to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and did not deny the discontent in Indian communities.

ROSEBUD SIOUX HERALD,
June 3, 1968

* * * * *

Among those taking part in the Poor People's Campaign in Washington was an Indian delegation including Mel Thom, a Paiute; Hazel Herald, a Pima; Rose Crow Flies High, an Arickara; Andrew Dreadfulwater, a Cherokee; and Tillie Walker, a Mandan. In an interview with the Washington Post, **Thom** said:

"Like other groups, we Indians are victims of the American power structure. We are here because we want to end the racism that exists in the Federal agencies serving American Indians. We're tired of being told that we are incompetent to deal with our problems unless we become to all intents and purposes 'white men.' We came as people, as individual poor people because we are tired of being represented by tribal councils and by the National Congress of American Indians who do not fight for us but who ride in on the coattails of other minorities who have led the fight for human rights."

FCNL, April 1968

**PASSAMAQUODDIES' AIM:
\$150 MILLION FROM
BAY STATE***

BOSTON (AP)—The remnants of a once powerful Maine Indian tribe hope to use litigation rather than tomahawks to shear the Commonwealth of Massachusetts of some \$150 million.

Lawyers for 600 Passamaquoddy tribesmen have filed suit in Suffolk County Superior Court seeking an accounting of a \$37,471 trust fund started in 1820 and the accrued interest.

They also claim violation of a 1794

* BANGOR DAILY NEWS, March 11, 1968.

treaty granting land rights and support, made when Maine was part of the State.

The tribe now lives on two Washington County, Maine reservations—at Princeton and Perry.

The Indians have dealt with Maine since it separated from Massachusetts to become a state in 1820. But they filed their claim against Massachusetts, saying they never released the Commonwealth from its treaty obligation.

By the separation compact, Maine agreed to assume all treaty obligations with the Indians and to obtain a release from the tribe freeing Massachusetts from any further responsibility. It did neither, the Quoddies say.

Maine received a lump sum reimbursement of \$30,000 from Massachusetts to live up to the treaty obligations. But, according to the Indians, it deposited the money into its general fund and they never saw any income from it.

The case is the result of five years' work by the tribal counsel, Don C. Gellers of Eastport, Maine. Working with him is John S. Bottomley of Boston, a former assistant Massachusetts attorney general.

Noteworthy Book Reviewed

by Theodore B. Hetzel

THE NEW INDIANS, by Stan Steiner (Harper & Row, 348 pp. \$7.95)

To achieve manhood and to gain the power of the spirit that would guide and protect him through life, an Indian youth used to go through an ordeal of four days on a mountain. Now the ordeal is four years at a university, to get in tune with the spirit of these times. Education for today is more arduous than the traditional search for a vision, or the trial of the sundance, but the new Indians are equal to the task.

The New Indians is the message of youthful Indians who are already speaking for their people. Stan Steiner had hoped that they would write their story themselves, but they have not yet done so. He has researched the subject thoroughly and presented the facts expressed with their feeling. His prose has caught much of the poetic, dramatic style of Indian oratory. He covers a wide range of Indian problems (which, as he points out, are usually white-man problems), and he makes

(Continued on Page 14, Col. 1)

KENNEDY ASSASSINATION SHOCKS INDIAN WORLD

Just as this issue was to be sent to the press, word of the Kennedy shooting was flashed around the world. Privately and in public gatherings, Indian people spoke of their loss and their sorrow; for as chairman of the new Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, Robert F. Kennedy had brought new hope to many Indian people in their age-old plea to be heard and to obtain justice.

When such a person is also a Presidential candidate, it is not hard to accuse him of political opportunism. But careful analysis clearly pointed to a man who had much understanding of Indian people and of the problems which the White man brought to them. He was, by most, considered to be a true friend of the Indian.

Their loss is our loss, too. But let us not stop with anger for the deed nor with sorrow for his family, but move on to redouble our efforts in working with Indian people in their search for opportunity and justice.

ALS

EXCERPTS FROM "THE PAST WORK OF THE INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION."

Lawrence E. Lindley

(1968 Annual Meeting Remarks)

I had thought of trying to pay some tribute to the founders of the Indian Rights Association. To most of you they would be only names: Herbert Welsh and Henry T. Pancoast who went out to the Dakota Country in 1882 because an Episcopal Bishop was very much concerned about what was happening to the Indians and because he felt that the Indians needed help much more than they were getting. These two young men went out and spent a month in the Dakota Country. It is almost inconceivable for us now to believe that the railroad ended then in eastern South Dakota. The rest of their travels were with horse and wagon.

Herbert Welsh was an eloquent speaker, a passionate man who was able to get himself across to audiences. He gave many addresses up and down the eastern seaboard, telling of the way that

(Continued on Page 11, Col. 1)

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(Continued from Page 2, Col. 2)

ment of Indian title to the remaining 320 million acres of land in Alaska in order not to impose a burden on either the Treasury of the State of Alaska or the U. S. Treasury.

The latest bill introduced in Congress, referred to as the "Administration Bill", reflects the report that the Bureau of the Budget was influenced by the court decision in the Tlingit-Haida case, in which the court awarded the Tlingit-Haidas 43¢ an acre. This award was used as a precedent to determine the value of land in Alaska for purposes of compensation.

At Present, There Are Five Bills Before Congress:

1. S. 1964—introduced June 12, 1967
Gruening by request—Interior Bill
2. S. 2020—introduced June 26, 1967
Gruening by request—AFN Bill
3. S. 2690—introduced November 21, '67
Bartlett—AFN Bill referred to Interior & Insular Affairs Committee
4. S. 2906—introduced February 1, '68
Gruening by request—TASK FORCE BILL
5. Bureau of the Budget Bill or the Administration Bill H.B. 17129

The natives of Alaska have firmed up their position on a just settlement of the land issue. All things being carefully considered, the Alaska natives will ask Congress to:

1. Recognize each village and community in Alaska and issue fee title to all village sites where land is available; with a provision for in lieu selection if land has been transferred to third parties, with full protection for third party interests. The total amount of land retained by native groups to be 40 million acres.
2. Accept as reasonable compensation approximately \$1.60 per acre for extinguishment of Indian title to all remaining land in

Alaska, this amounting to five hundred million dollars.

3. Be permitted to manage this land and money through local native organizations on a:

- (a) Statewide basis—AFN
- (b) Areawide basis—Regional Associations, and
- (c) Village or Community basis

The native people of Alaska request the endorsement of this program from:

- (1) Secretary Udall
- (2) Governor Hickel
- (3) Alaska's Congressional Delegation

and respectfully request hearings to be scheduled in the near future by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee in the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives, and the appropriate subcommittees on Indian affairs.

It is the native's understanding that the latest draft legislation introduced by the administration has cleared the Bureau

(Continued on Page 16)

INDIAN EDUCATION HEARINGS IN OKLAHOMA

Attended by Executive Director

Senator Robert F. Kennedy (D) as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, opened hearings at Oaks, Oklahoma, on February 19, by saying, "... we are listening to Indian people speak for themselves about the problems they confront, and about the changes that must be made if their children are to receive an equal and effective education." He went on to review Cherokee history and present conditions saying, "... cultural differences are not a national burden, they are a national resource—the American vision of itself is of a nation of citizens determining their own destiny; of cultural differences flourishing in an atmosphere of mutual respect; of diverse peoples shaping their own lives and destiny in their own fashion ... That is what we understand as the United

(Continued on Page 13, Col. 1)

“INDIAN RIGHTS IN TODAY’S WORLD”

Armin L. Saeger, Jr.

(IRA 1968 Annual Meeting Address)

The rights of people in today’s world are no longer defined only in terms of “the right to vote,” or “the right to a fair and speedy trial,” “the right to own tax free land held in trust by the US government for Indian people or tribes,” or “special rights to hunt or fish granted through age old treaties.”

While these more easily defined rights need constant efforts to guard, where they already exist, or to secure, where they do not exist; other perhaps even more important rights exist that are less easy to define, certainly more perplexing in the problems which they pose as to how they are exercised and, therefore, much more difficult to procure.

In the whole spectrum of the rights of people, the whole world is witness and participant to social upheavals such as we have never experienced before. The Oriental, the African, the American Indian, and the Caucasian poor (often labeled by national origin or religion) are all bursting at their bonds, of oppression—oppression, not always that of national governments or legal injustices, but rather the oppressions of Racism, Greed, and Poverty. These are the greatest enemies of oppressed minority people today. These are the real enemies of Blank and Yellow and Red people, and all of the poor everywhere.

And those of us who are not poor and mostly white must quickly recognize **Racism and Greed and Poverty as our greatest enemies**, too; for the passage of time will not allow us to escape the judgment of our failures. In this age, it is within our power to remove these forces of oppression and to establish a dignity in life for all peoples. Either the pages of history will so record or the ashes of our civilization will tragically testify to a nation of people who, in their failure, turned the other way.

Because most of the Indians’ problems are caused, and many of their rights as human beings are jeopardized, by the very same forces of oppression that press in upon all minority people of color and in poverty, it is the responsibility of persons especially interested in Indian rights and to all people of good will to search and to find increasingly more effective ways to remove the cancer of prejudice from our hearts, and to remove the blight of poverty from our cities and countryside, both of

which are eating at the vitals of our American Dream.

Only recently, a great man with a great dream was taken from our midst to the Great Beyond. Not by an act of God, but by the act of Man—the actions of many men. Racism and greed, acquiescence or indifference—all helped to pull the trigger which ended the life of Dr. Martin Luther King.

I may seem to have wandered far from the problems and rights of our First Americans. Not really, however, because the basic causes of most problems confronted by American Indians today are the diseases of Racism and Greed which lie within those persons who perpetrate injustices toward the Indian; and these same diseases knock at the door of each and everyone of us. We can afford to do nothing less than to obligate ourselves to obliterate these diseases from within ourselves and from the face of our Nation. Doctor King did just that; and we pay sorrowful tribute to the world’s loss which has been felt by men of all races, including many who are the First Americans among us.

There are increasingly fewer of those who were First among us who continue to be denied their legal right to vote. But there are many Indians who believe that there is nothing for which to vote. **So long** as minority Indian voices are belittled or ignored by the majority; **so long** as the powers of threat or veto are exercised by government agencies with great control over Indian affairs; **so long** as the power potentials of some Indian communities are not utilized by Indians more effectively; **so long** as present day community or traditional Indians are conceived by power-hungry or land-greedy people who border Indian lands and communities only as a people to be used (or pitied) and regarded as having inferior cultures and values; **so long** as we, through our institutions of education, law and economics, continue to seek to demonstrate the so-called superiority of our basically White, Anglo-Saxon, Western religious culture, by making Indians over into our own image; **so long** as we, our neighbors, our government and churches perpetuate these kinds of thinking and behaving, Indian people will be denied their full right to effective participation in helping to map their own destiny and their right to a full share of the rewards of our Nation.

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Some of the basic civil rights which now have the blessing and protection

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of law are relatively easy to define, to understand, and even to protect. As our nation's lawmakers hopefully become more sensitive to the cries and demonstrations of the poor, (and Indians are Poor People, too) and as our lawmakers witness the sometimes violent acts of frustration of the oppressed, they will come to grapple with more difficult "Rights" issues such as to be found in housing and medical care, jobs and income maintenance. Again, I would say, these issues of our times are less easily definable as "rights", are much more open to misunderstanding, and are less easy to procure and to preserve. But these issues cannot be ignored, for they are at our doorsteps today; and it is necessary for all people of good will to commit their joint efforts toward achieving a greater understanding of these issues, and toward a lessening of the cultural and economic gaps between Indian and non-Indian, between the poor and the affluent, that has grown wider, not narrower, and that desperately calls for understanding and effective help.

Freedoms from disease and hunger and cultural genocide are becoming as essential in our modern world as the freedoms to speak and to vote have been in the world of these past few centuries. Although they are more difficult to define, less easy to procure, and not so easy to protect, we must struggle with these issues and broaden our concerns so that Indian people and communities might enjoy their full rights as Indian and as American citizens.

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On March 6, 1968, the President of our Nation, in a special message to Congress entitled "The Forgotten American", stated:

... The program I propose seeks to promote Indian development by improving health and education, encouraging longterm economic growth, and strengthening community institutions.

... In our efforts to meet these responsibilities, we must pledge to respect fully the dignity and the uniqueness of the Indian citizen.

That means partnership—not paternalism.

We must affirm the rights of the first Americans to remain Indians while exercising their rights as Americans.

We must affirm their right to freedom of choice and self-determination.

We must seek new ways to provide Federal assistance to Indians—with new emphasis on Indian self-help and with respect for Indian culture.

On February 19, 1968, at hearings on Indian Education at Twin Oaks, Oklahoma, Republican Senator Paul Fannin of Arizona said there were important lessons to be learned from looking at Cherokee Indian education as it existed prior to Oklahoma statehood when it was dissolved by acts of Congress. The lessons to be learned were:

1. The power of Indian cultures to express themselves and to achieve greatness in their own way, given the opportunity.
2. The tremendous resilience and pride of Indian people in their own cultural traditions, and their ability to withstand almost overwhelming hardship and injustices, to once again express their own identity and values.
3. Perhaps most important in its implications for today—the absolute necessity for meaningful participation and self-determination by Indian people in all programs designed to be of benefit to them—programs are far too often superimposed from the top, not generated from the true wishes of the people.

During the same meeting, Senator Robert F. Kennedy stated to those attending the Senate Subcommittee hearings on Indian Education:

... we are listening to Indian people speak for themselves (See Page 6, Col. 2).

Following the President's message on March 6, 1968, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Robert L. Bennett, stated:

The Bureau of Indian Affairs will pursue a course in which it cooperates with other Government agencies and tribal councils.

... In doing this, we will involve tribal councils and the Indians themselves to the greatest possible extent. Our programs are directed toward Indian self-involvement, self-help, self-development and self-determination with the intent of carrying out the policy stated by President Johnson to provide maximum choice for the American Indian.

Mr. Bennett closed his remarks by emphasizing the President's demand for

a new and clear goal for Indian programs—a goal, in the **President's** words, "that erases old attitudes of paternalism and promotes self-determination."

These newly defined "rights" are easy to expound, but not so easy to exercise. It falls upon the shoulders of private citizens, independent organizations, and the Indian people themselves, to make sure that these kinds of rights are truly secured and consistently protected. To the implementation of seeing that these rights are secured, I would urge all citizens and independent organizations of good will to cooperate with Indian people and communities in monitoring the degree and the effectiveness of governmental and church policies and programs which propose to put these rights into practice.

It is the essence of Bureaucracies to balk at relinquishing power and authority over people, and the history of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, numerous other government agencies, and many church groups do little to remove this image of government or private practice.

As the developments of the modern world have made rule by decree less and less popular, and as the social sciences have advanced in theories and in practice, so has the Bureau of Indian Affairs transferred some of its veto powers into the hands of official tribal councils. Members of many such Councils, however, frequently have been elected, not so much for their outstanding ability to truly represent their Indian electorate, but rather for their ability to gain something from or to soften the impact of government officials and programs. Indeed, some official tribal officeholders are government appointed and are not elected or chosen by the people for whom they officially conduct business. These kinds of Indian leadership too often have been fostered and developed by government and some church staffs, and they are frequently characterized by many of their own Indian people as "Uncle Tommyhawks".

And so, in spite of administrative policy changes, the essence of paternalism often continues, both as "Uncle Tommyhawks" are manipulated by agency staffs, and as those in power constantly seek, (as so ably stated by D'Arcy McNickle) to "substitute expert thinking for folk thinking, and authority for mutual agreement." All, of course, in the over-all 'best interests' of 'our Indians. And on and on, and paternalistically on, and Indian people

wearily stoop under the weight.

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Why should I feel so keenly about this subject? The reasons for stressing the importance of this subject are two-fold.

First, benevolent paternalism is the smiling mask to our own white, Anglo-Saxon, Western religious heritage which seeks to promote our feeling of cultural superiority by making everyone else over into our own image. Benevolent paternalism is the friendly mask to our own ingrained feelings of racial superiority.

But, you protest that we live in an enlightened age, that we no longer discriminate, that most Bureau of Indian Affairs employees are Indian, that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs is Indian, and that all tribal councils and officials are Indian, too. The answers to these statements are both yes and no, depending upon which statement and upon how you define an Indian. Furthermore, racism and paternalism are **attitudes of mind**—unrestricted by the color of the body which holds such attitudes. And many Indians, just as many people of other races, have often unknowingly adopted attitudes that reflect basic premises of superiority of one race or one culture or one religion over another.

These comments do not reflect the attitudes or practices of all government employees or all Indian councils and officials. I have met both government employees and tribal council members and other Indian leaders who are as committed to the tenets of meaningful democracy as they are committed to the removal of the last vestiges of paternalism toward the Indian people with whom they work or whom they represent. But the problem of being human, of the effects of bureaucracy upon its servants and upon the people it is established to serve, remains critical and massive in its effect upon our Nation's Indian citizenry.

This first reason for my concern has had to do with our own attitudes and with the attitudes of our government and its agencies as well as those of private groups who have Indian programs.

The **second** reason for my concern has to do with the effects of benevolent paternalism. What it has done, is doing, and will do to Indian people and communities unless it is stopped. Not only the openly hostile acts of government and people, but also the manipulations

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of benevolent paternalism have produced the social reactions among Indian people both of withdrawal AND of steaming anger.

Because of their smallness as a minority, because of the nature of their cultural and social personality, and by the repressive framework of the social and political systems which a non-Indian nation has forceably sought to impose upon Indians, most Indian communities have not yet demonstrated their frustrations and their anger with their plight in ways comparable to what has been experienced in many cities. But the social conditions are similar, and we must anticipate that the number of Indian people who will actively demonstrate their concern with their plight will steadily increase.

When a person or a group is **repeatedly** faced with the manipulative actions of a hostile people or a benevolent paternalism, the results are either his withdrawal into the shell of himself and his small community, or his explosion into outspoken, frustrated anger. For over 100 years we have seen the withdrawal of Indian people into the protective shells of their cultural and religious heritage. For over 100 years European man has either set them up in their 'pretty shells' as museum pieces, or we have damned their red skins for being lazy, drunk, or good for nothing Indians. We Americans, as individuals, as a government, and as church bodies, have repeatedly set Indians up as kingpins, only to be knocked down again in a ruthless game of power politics dominated by racism or greed. Apathy and anger, the troubled effects of such

actions, are clearly seen as people of color and in poverty seek to voice their message before it is too late.

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This is 1968, and Indian people in increasing numbers will no longer allow themselves to be set up by manipulators, only to be knocked down again. They seek to hold fast that which is old and dear and useful to them as Indians; and they seek, also, to use that which is new for their growth and benefit. This is the course of history. This is the nature of the New Indian, and of Indian Rights in Today's World.

Are we as Americans ready to accept this challenge? Is the Indian Rights Association ready to extend its hand of friendship and effort toward the securing and holding of **today's** changing concepts in people's rights? Are we ready not only to permit but to encourage real Indian personal and community growth into a life that will reflect the American Dream—of a nation that practices its beliefs in the equality of all men in the sight of God? Are we ready to allow these, our Indian citizens, the right to exercise their individuality as members of an ethnic, cultural, or religious minority, while at the same time exercising their rights as citizens of a nation which encompasses us all? And I must also humbly ask myself, am I ready and able to face this task?

In the year ahead, let us hopefully give those answers which all people of good will should in justice expect of us. **Let us be part of a nation of people who will neither forget nor turn the other way.**

(l. to r.) Theodore W. Taylor, Deputy Commissioner, BIA, and Robert E. Drew, Office of Tribal Affairs, DIH, talk with Armin Saeger, Jr., Executive Director, IRA.



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EXCERPTS—

(Continued from Page 5, Col. 2)

Indians were being treated. This was soon after the destruction of the buffalo when these fine Indian people were facing the results of the destruction of their way of life. Fine, noble people gathered around Indian agencies waiting for rations to be given to them. The only source of livelihood that they had left—their way of life—had been destroyed. It was a most destructive sort of thing to humanity and to human dignity.

I think it is a wonderful thing what these young men, and the people that associated with them, were able to do to try to help bring back to the Indian people some bit of understanding, a bit of encouragement to try to reach a dignified way of life such as they had been used to before. And these young men who started the Indian Rights Association and the folks who associated with them were able to do a great deal. That is just the beginning.

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One of the things that Jonathan Steer said when he was talking about the work of the Indian Rights Association was that its purpose always was to keep in first-hand touch with Indian people, to learn at first-hand what was happening to them, how things were going, where the Indians are, and that was the practice of the Association, and has always been the practice of the Association, to keep in touch with field conditions. Back in the horse and buggy days I imagine that it was a big chore to do that. But I can say back in the days of the model A Ford it wasn't the same sort of travel that we know now.

Conditions have changed so much over the past forty-fifty-eighty years, that we can hardly conceive what they were. It is hard for us to understand what the Indians, whose way of life was pretty largely destroyed for them, had to face. It has been a wonderful thing that there has been such an organization as the Indian Rights Association. For many years it was, I believe, the only organization that was doing very much the sort of thing that the Indian Rights Association has done over the years of its life.

A good many years ago, Dr. Samuel Eliot of Boston, who had been chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, spoke at an Annual Meeting of the Indian Rights Association. He said some things that are very worthwhile, and I

would like to share them with you.

"The peculiar merits of the Indian Rights Association have been those of independence and continuity. It has been of vital importance that there should exist an organization like this which has no political or partisan or sectarian ties and obligations. The Association is concerned only with the **rights and progress of our Indian fellow citizens**. I do not mean that it has been static. Its principles have been constantly revitalized and reshaped by fresh visions and experience. It has kept the work flexible and hospitable to new ideas and methods. It has not been afraid to break with conformities and customs, but at the same time the Association has been unfailing and loyal to the work to which it was originally dedicated. It has been a source of power both to the administrators of Indian Affairs and to interested citizens at large who knew that this Association was a reliable and accurate report."

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One of the things that was said some few years ago was this, "Well, you know that the Indian Rights Association is always there," which I thought was a very terse, fine compliment paid to the Indian Rights Association. When the work of the Indian Rights Association started, there were practically no schools for Indian children, Health service was almost entirely absent. The churches perhaps had some few schools and may have had some bit of health work that they were trying to do. These are some of the things that have had to be developed over the years.

The work of helping Indians to retain land has always been an important part of the work of the Association. The Association was founded at the time of the great western migration—when it was at its height. Land-hungry white people were invading the Indian country and taking their land from them. Some of the first work of the Association was to try and help to save a great deal of land for the Indians in different parts of the country. Not all that should have been, but a lot of it was saved. The Association was involved in exposing the oil scandals in Oklahoma in the first quarter of this century. And the thought came to me that although a lot of stealing was done in the field of oil, yet some reforms were gotten before all the oil was taken away from the Indians. The Navajos, for example, profited from the experi-

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ences of other Indians who had oil, and their oil has been conserved for the use and for the management of their affairs.

Back in 1953, which is comparatively recent, when the termination drive became strongest, we helped to defeat most of the bills applying to specific Indian tribes or groups. Although House Concurrent Resolution 108, which formalized the termination policy, and Public Law 280, which authorized the state to assume Indian affairs within their limits, were passed; our opposition—with that of other groups and that of the Indian people, including many of the churches—helped materially to blunt the drive for termination. We've given support to efforts to get through Congress a policy resolution to supersede House Concurrent Resolution 108, referred to above. The latest in these efforts is Senate Concurrent Resolution 11, introduced by Senator George McGovern of South Dakota in this session of Congress. We have given every possible support to the enactment of that. Whether it will go through or not, we cannot be sure. It is such an essential program that he has outlined in his statement of policy that this program should have been followed over many years. And in the reports that my granddaughter wrote after her work in the Association, she said that this Senate Concurrent Resolution is a statement of such basics that, "I am appalled at the necessity to reiterate them now. They should have been accepted and been a part of the life of Indians for a long time."

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I might mention the work of the Association for a fair settlement of the land claims of the Alaska natives (based, in recent years, on the work of Dr. Hetzel in visiting and reporting on Alaska); work for the extension of the Indian Claims Commission; and the support of the Passamaquoddy Indians of Maine in their prosecution of their land claim against the states of Maine and Massachusetts, which has just recently gotten into the Massachusetts courts. There have been side benefits to the Indians of Maine from this effort that have been very valuable; and we believe more will come in the future.

I just mentioned our work in promoting education, health, and welfare services to the Indians which have increased rapidly in recent years. Still, much remains to be done. One of the recent developments that I think has been

most encouraging has been the assumption of responsibility on the part of Indians for shaping their affairs. You may recall, when two years ago Robert Bennett addressed this meeting, he said that he was going out after that to visit in various parts of the Indian country to find out what the Indians felt they wanted and needed for themselves. At the same time the Interior Department was working on a bill which was to turn over more responsibility to the Indian people. This has gone on for two years with the Indians being consulted—with all of us who are interested in them giving support to the Indians in pressing their point for what they wanted.

As never before, it seems to me, the Indians are now assuming responsibilities in a way that is most wholesome. **One of the important things that we can do** (and one of the important changes of attitude on our part [from that of] the early days when there was really need for an organization in this part of the country that could speak for the Indians who had no way of getting to Washington and to Congress and to the administrative organizations there—that there was a need for people, concerned people, to help to present their case in the Capitol of the nation, and the Indian Rights Association was able to do that. **Now it is very different.**) is to give encouragement to the Indian people and to support them in getting **THEIR** ideas across and in securing the things that **THEY** feel they need for themselves. Perhaps in this way it will be possible for us yet to help them secure that sense of dignity that was to a considerable degree lost when the buffalo were killed, when in different parts of the country the way of life they had been accustomed to was wiped out. If we can do that, we will be doing a great deal. Thank you very much.

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justice for the Passamaquoddy Indian should be shocking enough to arouse the most apathetic person. But they have not moved Maine. And even Maine's Governor has adopted the refuge of silence. Governor Curtis has not been as outspoken as his own State Police Chief, who at least indicated last week that investigation of the strange events in Washington County was not yet over. Chief Parker Hennessey told this newspaper the Indian side of the story would be heard. Governor Curtis

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Indian Youths Ask U.S. Adoption of Student Rights Bill*

Indian students of Los Angeles, in school under the sponsorship of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, have demanded the immediate adoption of the "INDIAN STUDENT'S BILL OF RIGHTS." Supported in their efforts by staff of the Indian Welcome House in Los Angeles, they say that: "The Indian Student Is Entitled To:

1. Professional Counseling Service
2. Quality Education
3. Appropriate Housing
4. Adequate Finances
5. Meaningful Job Placement Services
6. Adequate Social and Recreational Services."

The Rev. William Ng, Director of the Indian Welcome House and organizer of the protest, said he feels the Bureau "... will continue to treat Indians as statistics, not as real people with real human needs. I feel the BIA office is trying to push through as many students as possible to get a name for itself as the largest relocation center in the country."

*LOS ANGELES TIMES,
April 9, 1968

INDIAN EDUCATION—

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States of America."

After citing the cold and tragic statistics of Indian poverty, sickness, and lack of education, Senator Kennedy closed his remarks by saying, "... effective education lies at the heart of any lasting solution ... an education that no longer presumes that cultural difference means cultural inferiority."

Senator Paul Fannin (R) of Arizona, who is also a committee member, spoke of lessons to be learned from looking at Cherokee education as it existed up to Oklahoma statehood in 1907. These lessons are:

- 1—"The power of Indian cultures to express themselves and achieve greatness in their own way, given the opportunity;
- 2—the resilience and pride of Indian people in their own cultural traditions, and their ability to withstand hardship and injustice;
- 3—the implications for today—the absolute necessity for **meaningful participation** and self-determination by Indian people on all programs designed to be of benefit for them."

The former Republican governor of

Arizona went on to say that, "... programs are far too often superimposed from the top, not generated from the true wishes of the people." In closing he stated; "... where have we failed and what can be done about it? The answer must lie with the Indian people themselves, and we have come to listen and to learn."

These senatorial remarks set the tone of hearings that were greeted with official Cherokee Nation coolness and Bureau of Indian Affairs concern, for at no Congressional hearing in Oklahoma before this, (according to Bill Grover, administrative assistant of "Oklahoman's for Indian Opportunity") had real Indians been so able to publicly express their true feelings and opinions about matters of deep concern.

Individual Indian citizens and the **Director of "O.I.O."** spoke of social and educational systems that practiced both subtle and open discrimination. They spoke of poverty and alienation from the society which surrounded them and which controlled their educational systems (both state and federal). And, tribal Cherokees spoke of their own official tribal government by presidential appointment as being paternalistic, at best, and as a form of arbitrary power by government appointment, at its worst.

Official Cherokee Nation representatives spoke of Indian poverty and of the need for increased job opportunities and of their efforts to bring industries to the area as essentials in achieving better education. They spoke also of the need for increased programs, such as Headstart, and of expanding technical training opportunities for Indians.

At the request of several Cherokee individuals and the Subcommittee staff, the **Executive Director of Indian Rights Association** submitted written testimony to the Subcommittee based on his personal experiences in eastern Oklahoma over a seven year period. His testimony dealt largely with the adverse effects of various forms of racial, social and economic discrimination. It explained the lack of meaningful traditional (old Indian) or community Cherokee involvement in the predominantly non-Indian community which surrounds them, in the educational systems of the area, and in their own government appointed tribal government. These are seen as important factors working against any useful educational attainment by a significantly large number of community

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BOOK REVIEW—

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surprisingly few factual mistakes. He has read widely in the literature, and he has met and learned from a great many Indians, but he could have obtained a more balanced knowledge by consulting more and different organizations and individuals who are informed and involved in Indian affairs. For instance he seems to be ignorant of the Council on Indian Affairs, the cooperative organization of agencies which have Indian interests. The spelling of a few names should be corrected (e.g. Frechette). He frequently quotes Peter LaFarge, but does not mention numerous other contemporary poets and singers who are Indians or who speak for them (Buffy Sainte-Marie, Leonda, Pat Sky, Johnny Cash, and others). The total picture he presents is correct, but he might have given credit more widely where due. Steiner is wrong in stating that there has never been a woman as tribal chairman. There have been a number, and recently, and Indian women have more influence and are in more positions of power than is characteristic of women in our cities, states and nation. Not only in the matriarchal societies, such as the Navajo and Iroquois, but generally Indian women are in better mental health with the roles of homemaker and employment that are open to them, than is true of the males, who have more difficulty finding suitable employment and filling their role as providers.

Indian leaders of the recent past have been those who could best complain about harmful or inadequate legislation, and could wheedle the most from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They were often not representative of traditional Indian values, but chosen only for their ability to deal with non-Indians. They included many of the so-called Uncle Tomahawks, who had abandoned Indian ways and were guided by the institutions of the larger society. But they were frustrated by the power of bureaucracy, by the paternalism of all white agencies, and often lacked the ability to cope with the problems that beset them.

Indians are not a vanishing race. They are increasing in number about twice as fast as the rest of the population. But because of their shorter life expectancy, most Indians are less than 21 years of age, and therefore most Indian problems relate to youth and to its prospects for the future. The "new

Indians" of this book are the young adults, college educated, with a nationwide view of Indian interests and problems. They are the advocates of "Red Power", the power, ability and responsibility to manage their own affairs. They do not attempt to fight the mainstream of American life, and they do not intend to be overwhelmed by it, but to use the tools and methods of contemporary America selectively to accomplish their own purposes.

A still younger group of leaders is emerging, still more radical. They are radical in their independence, and also in their return to the roots of their Indian heritage. They want all the education they can get, to increase their power and well-being, since "it is becoming necessary to be modern in order to preserve the old way" (p. 289). They respect the culture of their grandparents more than that of their parents. They are preparing to serve their people on the reservations, rather than to serve selfish personal interests. They are rejecting the competitive, individualistic culture of the mainstream, and returning to a tribal orientation. But it is a tribalism that is expanded from that of the narrow home community to include other Indians. They, like the Black Power advocates, want education, they want to control what it consists of and how it is administered.

The New Indians will help people realize that reservations are not concentration camps from which Indians should be "liberated". Most reservations are characterized by segregation and poverty, but they are not prisons. The avid desire of non-Indians to buy, rent or steal reservation land should make it obvious that the land has economic value (not to mention sentimental and religious value). Even in Alaska where there is so much land and so few people, the Natives are beginning to realize that ownership of the land is essential to their way of life. Unfortunately, representatives of the churches and other agencies of our culture still do not recognize the rights of the Natives to own and control the land of their ancestors, but still feel free, along with other recent intruders, to gain title to land for themselves through favoritism and better knowledge of legalities.

Thanks, Stan Steiner, for writing this book that European Americans can read with pleasure and profit, and which Indian Americans should read too. Indians need the feeling of pride in their heritage, pride in knowing that

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they have something of value to contribute to the world. We white men who are so powerful, and think ourselves to be so superior, will find that our 100% Americans and other tribal people can teach us to be more human, happier in our relations with other people and enriched in our relations with our surroundings. Our own survival depends on this enlightenment. If we do not learn to revere the earth as a principle of life, as a religion, if we continue to destroy its non-renewable resources, then it will not sustain us for long. We need to understand and appreciate Indians in order that we may learn to live with (and profit from) them and other tribal people of the world. Our individualistic, competitive, materialistic culture does not make us all happier or our future more secure; their tribal, cooperative, harmonious culture does not give them a high standard of living. As Alanis Obomsawin, talented young Canadian Indian woman said to me, "We need to learn from you, and you better learn from us!"

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Cherokees.

It is true that since 1907 the policies and programs of the state of Oklahoma and of the Muskogee Area of the Bureau of Indian Affairs have generally supported the concept of legal, educational and social assimilation of Indian people into the life of the state and its majority non-Indian population. It is also true that through the passage of several generations a great number of whites who can claim Indian heritage by virtue of a fraction of Indian blood have entered and participate in the economic, social, and political life of the state and the nation. However, **THERE REMAINS A SIGNIFICANT AND GROWING NUMBER OF TRADITIONAL OR COMMUNITY INDIANS IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA**, most but not all full blood, **WHO HAVE NOT SURRENDERED THEIR IDENTITY AND THEIR DIGNITY AS INDIAN TO THE 'ENFORCED' INSTRUMENTS OF CULTURAL CHANGE**. **THESE** are the Indian people who appeal to be heard. **THESE** are the people who most need the experience of truly democratic involvement. **THESE** it is who have been the **most damaged** by school systems alien to their culture and by economic, social and political dominance and control of all major institutions in the area by persons who are non-Indian

by blood or by culture and who do not comprehend the special needs of education for the culturally different.

Although most Oklahoma news media failed to report many of the most significant statements made at the hearing and although this hearing received little national coverage, the Kennedy-Fannin probe did reveal to some of the public the shameful educational situation that exists among many Oklahoma Indians and some of the causes which must be rectified if helpful change is to take place. Education is a key to a good life. However, without **meaningful involvement and effective participation** in both the educational planning and experience, then education can become a mockery to the very people whom it is intended to serve.

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had said earlier the investigation had been complete, even though the Indian testimony had never been sought.

It has been said a hundred times during the past month that trying an Indian in Washington County is the same as expecting a fair trial for a black man in Mississippi. And the truth of the statement is upheld by the highest state offices. Yet Maine is not Mississippi and the blind hatreds can not be the same. We believe too much in Maine people to ever accept that. We just don't know how to break their clutching grip on silence. We don't know how to get them to start asking questions about why the unjust treatment of Maine's Indians has been allowed to continue year after year after year.

We hope that they have read or will read the news story that was published in this newspaper on Friday. If they missed it, we will be happy to send them a copy. We have already sent one to Governor Curtis.

—from the editors' desk

IRA Representatives Attend National Institute on Effects Of Discrimination Upon Children and Youth

With transportation provided by IRA, and with scholarships from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, two **Oklahoma Cherokees** attended the New Mexico institute as a youth-adult team from May 5-10, 1968. Attending as IRA representatives were **Rev. Charles Sanders, Stilwell, and Miss Dora Vann, NES College, Tahlequah.**

INDIAN TRUTH

ALASKA—

(Continued from Page 6, Col. 2)

of the Budget, and the proper procedure at this point is to present our amendments to that document.

We are presently scheduled to meet with Governor Hickel on May 24, 1968, and following that meeting, a meeting of native leaders, Governor Hickel and Secretary Udall prior to presenting our case to the Congressional committees in Washington, D.C., hopefully in June or early July, 1968.

In conclusion, may I express deep and sincere appreciation to secretary Udall, Governor Hickel, our Congressional Delegation, the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs who held hearings in Anchorage last February, and all actively par-

ticipating citizens for work accomplished to date on this important matter.

The Alaska State Legislature has given the native people full support, and it is necessary that the native people continue to encourage secretary Udall and Governor Hickel to assist us in convincing the Congress of the United States that Alaska's most important problem is a land claims settlement.

SIGNED: Donald R. Wright,
First Vice-President, Alaska
Federation of Natives.

* News release dated May 21, 1968. Received from Alaska Federation of Natives . . . This statement deserves the careful review of all Americans concerned with justice for the Alaska natives . . . Congressmen should be urged to hold appropriate hearings as noted above.

ALS, Jr.

INDIAN TRUTH

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WINTER, 1968-69

VOL. 45 No. 3

"The American Indian" (Statement of President Nixon)

In a statement released September 27 during the Presidential campaign, President-elect Richard Nixon gave the American people some distinct guidelines for the Federal Indian policy his administration will pursue.

Noting the statistics show Indians lagging behind the Nation in almost every economic and educational index, Nixon said that "the Indian people have been continuous victims of unwise and vacillating Federal policies, and serious, if unintentional, mistakes can be laid at the doorstep of both political parties.

"To their great credit, the Indian people are not occupying themselves with the errors of the past but are striving for a brighter future in an active, constructive American society."

Nixon states:

"1. The special relationship between the Federal Government and the Indian people and the special responsibilities of the Federal Government to the Indian people will be acknowledged.

Termination of tribal recognition will not be a policy objective, and in no case will it be imposed without Indian consent.

We must recognize that American society can allow many different cultures to flourish in harmony, and we must provide an opportunity for those

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS PRESIDENT STATEMENT ON ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Beginning with high praise for Mr. Robert L. Bennett, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, NCAI President Wendell Chino has called for his reappointment by President Nixon. He also spoke in favor of the continuation of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, the appointment of an Indian to the Indian Claims Commission, and for a revision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs as opposed to its abolition or dis-

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 1)



Wendell Chino: President, Mescalero Apache Tribe; President, National Congress of American Indians; Chairman, New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs.

INDIAN TRUTH

PRESIDENT NIXON'S—

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 1)

Indians wishing to do so to lead a useful and prosperous life in an Indian environment.

2. The right of self-determination of the Indian people will be respected, and their participation in planning their own destiny will actively be encouraged.

I will oppose any effort to transfer jurisdiction over Indian reservations without Indian consent.

I will fully support the National Council on Indian Opportunity, and I will ensure that the Indian people are fully consulted **before** programs under which they must live are planned.

I will appoint a qualified Indian member to the Indian Claims Commission.

I will see to it that local programs and federal budgets are operated with minimum bureaucratic restraint and in full consultation with the Indian people who should achieve increasing authority and responsibility over programs affecting them.

Independent school boards, funded at government expense, must be encouraged for each government-run school.

Tribes should be urged to take over reservation law and order programs.

Road construction and repair activities should be under Indian management.

School service contracts for running school buses, or for operating a school lunch program, should be funded as they are now but become an activity of the Indian people themselves rather than of employees of the federal government.

3. The Economic Development of Indian Reservations will be encouraged, and the training of the Indian people for meaningful employment on and off the reservation will be a high priority item.

My administration will promote the economic development of the reservation by offering economic incentives to private industry to provide opportunities for Indian employment and training.

Large companies which have already located on reservations have been highly impressed with the reliability and productivity of Indian workers. Companies such as these can provide a stable economic base for a reservation and can, and should, be encouraged to permit the Indian people to share in the fruits of their enterprise.

The special development problems of

smaller reservations will be recognized, and the administrators of Government loan programs will be encouraged to take "businessman's risks" in sponsoring Indian enterprises.

Moreover, the recreation and tourist potential of Indian reservations should be developed as a source of continuing independent income which could, in turn, fuel further Indian-sponsored development.

Job training for Indian people must be accelerated on and off the reservation. I have promised my full backing to the Vocational Education Act and I will see to it that the Indian people enjoy the full benefits of its provisions.

4. The Administration of Federal Programs affecting Indians will be carefully studied to provide maximum efficiency consistent with program continuity.

A first priority of my administration will be a thorough study of the Executive Department by an independent Commission patterned on the Hoover Commission. The coordination of the various programs affecting the Indian people will be an important matter on the agenda of that Commission.

I will particularly direct that attention be given both to a basic change of administration of Indian affairs and to methods by which a smooth transition from the existing structure can be effected.

I will instruct the Commission to eliminate needless bureaucratic levels which insulate decision-making from the Indian people.

5. Improvement of health services to the Indian people will be a high priority effort of my administration.

The Eisenhower Administration revitalized health programs for the Indian people and sharply reduced the death rate from tuberculosis and the infant mortality rate. Now new progressive steps are direly necessary. Looking to the future, my administration will stress programs of preventive medicine, additional modernization of health facilities, and assure greater progress in the delivery of health services to the Indian people.

The Indian people have long endured deprivation and hardship while respecting the processes of orderly change. Many of them have risen above these handicaps to attain positions of prominence in American society. My administration will be responsive to their patient pleas and will aid them to live in prosperity, dignity and honor."

INDIAN RECORD, Jan. '69.

AMERICAN INDIANS— UNITED HOLD FIRST CONVENTION IN CHICAGO

At its meeting in Chicago last October, American Indians-United, a new organization of Indian groups, adopted the following as a statement of its purpose:

"American Indians-United will endeavor to faithfully represent and be of service to Indians in the following ways:

1. Articulate the need for jobs, job training, vocational counseling, housing, educational opportunities and related services for off-reservation Indians.
2. Inform legislative and administrative bodies of local, state, and federal government of the needs of all Indians. Support the efforts of the tribes to obtain the kind of development programs they, as Indians, want and need.
3. Present an accurate and dignified image of the Indian to the American public. Encourage a more accurate portrayal of the American Indian by mass media. Work for a balanced and informed treatment of the Indian in public school curricula. Support proposed improvements in Indian education that will strengthen, not weaken, Indian personality and cultural identification as well as prepare him for economic fulfillment.
4. Encourage and support the development and expansion of indigenously controlled leadership of such organizations.
5. Communicate to the urban Indians and to the general public, relevant information on Indian legislation and events, thereby strengthening the American Indian consciousness. Also, seek to interpret aspects of urban life and culture to Indians in order that they may adapt in the ways they feel meaningful to themselves, without abdicating their own identity."

American Indians-United is the first such coalition of urban Indian organizations to be formed. A united voice has long been needed to speak on behalf of the thousands of Indians now living in urban communities. The Indian Rights Association has supported the development of such a group and wishes it well as it swiftly moves to become an active voice in Indian affairs. Jess Sixkiller, a Cherokee from Oklahoma, now living in Chicago, is its first president. Congratulations are in order, and success is already being achieved.



A NEW MONUMENT AT WOUNDED KNEE?

Information from several sources has come to the attention of the Indian Rights Association concerning the possibility of a new privately supported TEN MILLION DOLLAR memorial tourist attraction at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Apparently no Indians are in the newly formed "Sioux Corporation" which is promoting this attraction; and to our knowledge, no Indian organizations or Indian leaders have come out in its support.

We have heard strong individual Indian protest against making the Wounded Knee site a glamorous tourist attraction. The proposed nationwide solicitation of funds for a multi-million dollar private tourist attraction commemorating an act of genocide is offensive, and to many Indian people it seems almost indecent. The Wounded Knee site, as it stands today in its quiet beauty and deep silence, would seem to be enough. This humble monument to the massacre of three hundred Indian men, women and children by United States government troops on December 29, 1890, is sufficient, say some South Dakota Sioux people today who in their quiet way return to the present Indian graveyard site in reverence and in prayer for the past, the present and the future of their people.

Unless this new tourist promotion should eventually receive the backing of the Sioux people, well meaning non-Indians should think carefully before supporting such an adventure.

motors of this latest financial scheme capitalizing on Indian misery would gracefully allow their 'dream' to die on the drawing boards of their consultants. (But perhaps this is too much to expect.)

May the wishes of Indian people be heard and be respected in this most serious matter!

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INDIAN TRUTH



TAOS DENOUNCE ANDERSON'S BILL

TAOS, N. M.—The Taos Pueblo Council has branded the latest bill sponsored by Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D.-N.M.) to dispose of the Taos Indians' claim to land they consider sacred as "torture for our people, from the oldest man to the youngest child." In a statement, the council said that Sen. Anderson's bill would dismember the 48,000-acre religious sanctuary and "destroy the meaning of our lives."

Sen. Anderson announced on Jan. 29 that he was introducing a bill to settle the Indians' claim to the Blue Lake Area by placing 4,600 acres as a "religious area" for the Indians. The Indians would be allowed limited use of an additional 34,500 acres under a per-

mit to be administered by the Forest Service, he said.

The council said: "Sen. Anderson's plan ignores the fundamental concept underlying our claim to the total land and water unit — the Rio Pueblo watershed The essence of our religion is that Taos Pueblo and the Rio Pueblo watershed form an integral organism of land and water and dependent plant, animal and human life.

"Our religious activities encompass the entire area, where our young men receive their religious training and their preparation for manhood, and our religious societies go to perform their sacred duties throughout the year. In this way the people sustain and protect the sanctuary of the watershed, and the sanctuary gives life and meaning to the people." NAVAHO TIMES, Feb. 20, 1969



Left: Paul Bernal, Interpreter for the Taos Pueblo Council.

Right: Louis Castellano, councilman of the Taos Pueblo Council.

Above: Taos Pueblo, New Mexico.



HUNGER INVESTIGATORS INVESTIGATED

While a Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs (whose chairman is Senator George McGovern of South Dakota) begins an investigation into hunger and malnutrition, the House Agricultural Appropriation Subcommittee (whose chairman is Rep. Jamie L. Whitten of Marks, Mississippi) is reported to be using the FBI to investigate those who have already investigated hunger in the U.S.A.

Targets of the FBI probe are reported, to have been a committee of leading educators, doctors, religious and labor leaders and other prominent citizens who conducted an exhaustive study and published their findings in a book called, "Hunger, USA".

Not only does this probe seem to be a threat to the right of free expression, but an insult to the intelligence of those persons in the medical, educational, and social science professions who confront the problems of ill nutrition in their daily practice.

And last, but not least, such a probe is an insult and an affront to the hungry children and families of the poor whose bodies and spirits suffer daily from inadequate diets.

According to "Hunger, USA," published in April 1968, evidence indicates that some of the worst of all health conditions exist on some Indian reservations and that nutritional diseases are a most serious and widespread threat in some Indian reservations and communities.

On January 28, 1969, a panel of experts, including Dr. D. Mark Hegsted of Harvard, Dr. Charles U. Lowe of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, and Dr. David B. Coursin, of St. Joseph Hospital Research Institute, told the Senate Committee that a "morbid chain" caused by poverty has permanently stunted millions of young American brains. "The morbid chain must be broken" Dr. Lowe argued, "by ensuring that all infants, children, and pregnant mothers get adequate nutrition." "This alone," he said, "could interrupt the cycle and remodel the future."

There are forces of self-interest who would cast suspicion on those who are seeking to study the extent of hunger and malnutrition in the U. S. — its causes and its cure. Neither Indian people and communities nor other citizens of this nation should have to suffer the indignity of such suspicion. Fortunately, such Congressional leaders as Senator George McGovern and the

FORMER ALASKA GOVERNOR HEADS INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

The Honorable Walter J. Hickel, former governor of the state of Alaska, was confirmed as President Nixon's new Secretary of Interior on January 23, 1969. However, this was accomplished only after heavy questioning by the Senate. During the hearings Mr. Hickel assured the senators that he would not overturn a federal order halting Alaska's take-over of federal lands. The Senate also 'gave notice' that it would keep a sharp watch on the activities of the new Secretary.

Mr. Hickel, in a statement, said he was "totally convinced that once my record was known, I would receive the overwhelming support of the Senate." He said he would do his best "to justify the Senate's vote of confidence and that of President Nixon."

Following Mr. Hickel's commitment that he would retain the land freeze and maintain the status quo pending action by the 91st Congress, the Alaska Federation of Natives endorsed Mr. Hickel as President Nixon's Interior Secretary nominee.

In a report dated January 23, 1969, John Borbridge, Jr. stated: "The Alaska Federation of Natives, the Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska, and the Alaska Native Brotherhood are on record as favoring the retention of the land freeze. The successful four man delegation clearly understood this mandate and successfully negotiated on this point in Washington, D. C."

"It would be impossible to evaluate the monetary worth of the tremendous amount of Alaska Native Land Claims publicity generated by the hearings relative to the confirmation of Secretary Walter J. Hickel. Not only was the full attention of the entire Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee given to this vital issue, but the attention of the entire nation was also concentrated on this matter."

[Mr. Borbridge is First Vice-President of the Alaska Federation of Natives and President of the Central Council, Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska.]

other members of his Select Committee will not be frightened in their quest for truth in such vital matters of concern to all Americans.

ALS

INDIAN TRUTH

NCAI PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT—

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 2)

persal among other government agencies.

Speaking about the BIA, Mr. Chino stated:

"The Bureau of Indian Affairs should, by legislation, be made an independent commission or agency. At the present time, the Bureau of Indian Affairs must compete for funds with other agencies and bureaus within the Department of Interior who are also the responsibility of the Secretary of Interior. The Department of Interior is basically a land oriented organization, rather than a human oriented organization. The Department's Budget Managers are also land oriented. They do not have the required empathy regarding basic Indian problems which are human in nature, such as the community problems of education, housing, etc. The Secretary of the Interior often finds himself hamstrung by the Department and other interests which are more interested in other areas. This conflict of interest at the Secretarial level cannot contribute to the fair and impartial administration of Indian Affairs."

"The very bureaucratic structure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs insulates the Secretary of the Interior from the Indian people. The Secretary's chief representative of the Indian people, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is also further insulated from the people by the Area Offices. With these insulations, it is no small wonder that many critics of the Bureau of Indian Affairs claim that the job is not being done, and that top heavy administration results. Limited funds are now being wasted on useless office support, which also breeds excessive red tape and reporting requirements. Direct access to the top administrators is needed. The establishment of an independent Indian Commission will remove most of the bureaucracy that makes it so cumbersome for Indian people to communicate with those who are responsible for Indian Affairs. I believe that this proposed Indian Commission will be more responsive to the Indian people and speed the day when full scale development can be implemented in Indian communities."

Mr. Chino also urged greater attention to Indians in urban areas through the appointment of an Associate or Deputy Commissioner charged with prime responsibility in that area.

In recommending the study and revision of the operation and budget pro-

cess in the BIA, Mr. Chino specifically supported decentralization, and called for direct payments to tribal governing bodies and contracting for professional services and technical advice needed on Reservations.

"I have some reservations about Indian Tribes contracting to perform services for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In many cases, Indian Tribes do not have the necessary capital to contract to perform these services. If Indian Tribes are to be encouraged to contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the necessary working capital and equipment must be made available on an outright grant basis to permit the Tribe to function economically. It should be specifically understood that if Indian Tribes are to contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, that a fair return by the Tribes is to be expected and that the Tribes should not be expected to pay sub-standard wages to perform these services. Also, the Tribes should be offered not only the dirtiest, smallest and most difficult jobs which the Agency must accomplish, but Tribes should be encouraged to accept major tasks that may require them to develop their own staffs of skilled experts. In many instances, Tribes are offered just those jobs that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has never been able to successfully accomplish, or those which are insignificant, or those which the Bureau of Indian Affairs does not want to be bothered with"

"If Indian Tribes with very little capital contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs this contracting could bankrupt them unless payment procedures by the Bureau are improved. Further, the failure of Congress to give continuity of appropriations for Indian contract programs and developments could leave Indian Contractors with costly, but unusable equipment. Excessive contract supervision and red tape requirements should also be kept in check if Indian Tribes are to be expected to contract successfully."

Mr. Chino expressed his personal opinion that an abolished or fragmented BIA would jeopardize or terminate present services of the Federal government, and in effect be "termination in disguise." Submitting his views and opinions for consideration during the coming years, Mr. Chino closed by saying:

"Politically and socially it is almost impossible for the Indian to compete for services among other Federal agencies. With the huge backlog of services and developments needing to be accomplished, at best, the parceling out



Wendell Chino (L.), President of the NCAI, and Armin Saeger, Jr. (R.), Executive Director of IRA. Photo taken (by the Rev. Richard D. Lupke, Director, Chicago Indian Ministry) at the 1967 NCAI Convention in Portland, Oregon. Mr. Saeger also attended the 1968 NCAI Convention in Omaha, Nebraska.

SENATOR JACKSON RELEASES ALASKA NATIVE CLAIMS REPORT

Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), Chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, this week released two reports on the Alaska Native land claim issue.

The claims of Alaska Natives to the resources and the land of Alaska have been the source of conflict between the State of Alaska, the Natives, and the Federal government for years.

During the recent Senate hearings on the nomination of Governor Hickel to be Secretary of the Interior, Senator Jackson received Secretary Hickel's assurances that the current "land freeze" in Alaska would not be disturbed until Congress had an opportunity to resolve the issue.

The first report released this week is a confidential report recommending proposed terms for a legislative settlement of the Alaska Native land claims controversy.

The second report is a heavily docu-

ment of Bureau of Indian Affairs services to other Federal agencies would only be an injustice to these agencies because of their already insurmountable work load. A revamped and revitalized Bureau of Indian Affairs with sufficient funds can and will do a better job!"

mented and thorough 565 page study which brings together all relevant information on the land claims issue, the social and economic condition of the Alaska Native, the resources of Alaska and the alternatives which might be followed in arriving at a settlement acceptable to all of the parties involved.

Jackson had requested the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska to prepare both of these reports following field hearings on the Alaska Native land claims issue in Anchorage, Alaska, in February 1968.

The Senator said that he was "releasing the Federal Field Committee's report on legislative recommendations because I feel that it is essential that the Bureau of the Budget, the Department of the Interior, and the State of Alaska and Alaska Natives have an opportunity to carefully review the Field Committee's proposed settlement before bills are introduced and before the parties involved become locked into set positions."

"... The Committee's analysis," Jackson said, "stresses that consideration of claims legislation should be seen by Congress not only as a means of settling the legal claims, but also as an opportunity to provide a foundation for social and economic advancement of Alaska Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts, **most of whom**, according to the study **live under poorer circumstances than any other Americans.**"

Jackson characterized the Committee's study as the "most comprehensive portrayal of the Native people, the land, and the resources of Alaska ever assembled. In addition to serving the needs of his committee for factual information relating to Native land claims," Jackson said, "it would be highly useful to the Congress and executive agencies in other matters affecting Alaska such as the recently discovered oil deposits on the Arctic North Slope."

He said that "a fair and generous settlement is required, but **there must be provisions in the legislation which will insure that the Native peoples of Alaska get the full and continuing benefits of the settlement**, and that they be given a full and fair opportunity to attain quality lives for themselves and for their children."

Jackson said that his release of the Federal Field Committee's confidential recommendations for the terms of a legislative settlement did not constitute an endorsement.

TUNDRA TIMES, Feb. 21, 1969

IMPORTANCE OF LAND IGNORED TOO LONG

Alaska's Senior Senator Ted Stevens said before the Federal Field Committee last week that he has read the report called "Alaska Natives and the Land" and that he thought the report was well-documented and provides a good framework for future discussion leading to the resolution of this problem.

He further said that he has not had the opportunity to discuss this report with the individuals and groups affected and that he is unwilling to endorse any of its recommendations at this time.

Stevens said the report is generous in terms of money compensation but understates the importance of land in Alaska.

"Any resolution of this complex problem must envision a generous land settlement for the natives of my state," Stevens said.

"All the people of Alaska wish to see the Alaska land claims issue resolved. Because of the failure to resolve this issue, the development of Alaska and its people have been retarded and the plight of Alaska's native people ignored for too many years.

"The report provides the analysis needed, and I am hopeful that the native leaders appoint leaders to aid in the drafting of needed legislation. I hope that the Alaska congressional delegation can jointly support a bill which has the backing of all Alaskans.

TUNDRA TIMES, Feb. 28, 1969

GUARDIANSHIP AND INDIANS

Whole books could be written about the white man's misuse of legal guardianship to manage and manipulate the resources of Indian people. This is especially true in those areas of the country where Indians have been dispossessed of their reservations - - where instead they live on small tracts of trust land or on rental properties (owned by non-Indians) in the midst of people who remain alien to them.

One of the last **major** national legal thefts of Indian lands came with the passage of the Allotment Act of 1887 and its successor pieces of legislation

which broke up many large reservations. While this type of legislation temporarily satisfied those who obtained the extensive new lands made available for white settlement, many late-comers (by settlement or by birth) have continued to find every way possible (legal or not) to obtain what the Indian had left in his meager allotment.

In Oklahoma, as in some other states, this process has continued to this day, **either** by 'legal' manipulation of the courts and by collusion with Bureau of Indian Affairs employees as they justify their actions by "policy" and "regulation" statements, etc. **or** by illegal acts (such as fraud, misrepresentation of facts, by-passing of constitutional rights, or even violence or threats of violence). Read "The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border," by A. M. Gibson, University of Oklahoma Press.

Another misuse of legal guardianship for Indians has come through the gradual development of non-Indian community attitudes that foster non-Indian paternalism and Indian dependency roles. This pattern is generally fostered by those who have the most to gain, i.e.: renters, grocers, or school administrators (whose schools receive significant federal grants based on the number of Indian children in their school), and welfare workers (whose case loads are too high and whose training is often inadequate, therefore finding it easier to **do for** rather than to **work with** their clients), and the chain of paternalism is almost complete. Few state judges would find any reason to resist such a formidable group of good and respectable citizens as renters, grocer, school administrator, and welfare worker—and the chain of paternalism becomes sealed by law. White-mans law.

There is a major difference between earlier days and the present. This is that Indian people have had enough, and they no longer are willing to quietly accept those community attitudes which breed and perpetuate paternalism-dependency roles.

The Indian Rights Association has supported past efforts to expose and stop some inequities or illegalities associated with the guardianship system. While not opposed to legal guardianship per se, the Association continues to oppose the extra legal or illegal use of manipulation of people and laws to gain Indian land or to secure power over Indian resources.

ALS

THOMAS JAMES WHITE HAWK RECEIVES EXECUTION STAY

The Indian Rights Association, in a telegram to the governor of South Dakota on January 10, 1969, was one voice among many to request a "commutation of death sentence of Thomas James White Hawk." The telegram continued by pointing out that "while not condoning his crime, we believe punishment seems excessive and discriminatory. The ends of justice may be served by a lesser penalty."

A three month stay of execution was recommended by the South Dakota Board of Paroles and Pardons after a two-day hearing on January 16 and 17. On January 21, Governor Farrar approved the recommendation by postponing his death sentence from February 7 to May 6, 1969.

The following information may help INDIAN TRUTH readers in their understanding of this case.

On Friday, March 24, 1967, White Hawk committed murder against James Yeado, a jeweler in Vermillion, S. Dakota. White Hawk and a friend had been drinking during the night prior to the murder at Yeado's home in the early morning hours. There was scuffling over White Hawk's rifle and two shots entered Yeado's body. While plans had been made to rob Yeado, White Hawk said the shooting was accidental, although he did not claim self-defense.

White Hawk was a nineteen year old pre-med. student at the State University in Vermillion. He had recently received the .22 rifle from his (non-Indian) guardian. White Hawk's mother died when he was ten—his father, when he was eleven. He became a product-victim of boarding school life with "... many ambitious 'guardians' of the Indian problem hovering over this exceptional Indian . . . they wanted him to go all the way, the dominant way"

White Hawk became a good student, and in high school he set a new state record in pole vaulting. As one teacher is quoted as saying, "Tom was the way an Indian should be, he was the person you would like an Indian to be." He was becoming a white Indian.

On April 11, 1964, White Hawk was hit in the head by a shot putt, after which he complained of nervousness, dizziness and visual disorders. Twelve visits were recorded at the hospital infirmary. His teachers noticed a marked change in his behavior, and the school doctor later wrote, "When he left school

THOMAS JAMES WHITE HAWK



in June, 1966, he still complained of headaches and nervousness." **None of this information was presented in court.**

On May 5, 1967, the case came before Judge James R. Bandy, and following arraignment proceedings on July 14, White Hawk pleaded, "Not guilty . . . by reason of insanity."

On November 13, White Hawk changed his plea from not guilty to "guilty." A pre-sentence hearing was held on November 16, 1967.

On January 15, 1968, White Hawk was sentenced to die by electrocution. Upon leaving the courtroom, a man is reported to have said, "Let 'em smoke, ---- Indians." **Thus, an Indian became the state's first person to be sentenced to die in more than twenty years.**

(While White Hawk was awaiting trial, a white man in Rapid City walked into a courtroom, shot and killed his wife and her attorney, and wounded the judge. He was **not** sentenced to capital punishment.)

White Hawk's crime is morally unjustifiable. It is difficult to understand, and psychiatric testimony indicates even White Hawk may never be able to clearly understand what happened on March 24, 1967. However, there are clear considerations to be made for an insanity defense. Also, measured against Judge Bandy's own reputation in S. Dakota, many persons feel that he reflected his majority (non-Indian) community feeling when he imposed the death sentence.

Said John Artichoker, Headmaster when White Hawk was at Bishop Hare School (an Episcopal school in Mission, S. Dakota): "There is little justice for the Indian. We have been slow in defending ourselves . . . we are Indians at the mercy of ourselves."

(Quotations have been taken from "THOMAS JAMES WHITE HAWK" by Gerald Robert Vizenor. Information also obtained from the ROSEBUD SIOUX HERALD and individual private letters).

NATIONAL INDIAN YOUTH COUNCIL ISSUES STATEMENT OF POLICY

During the 1960's many young Indian college students began to question the effects that the non-Indian, western European cultural orientation in education was having upon their lives and the lives of their people. In order to find ways to protect themselves and their tribal communities from sure cultural death, they organized themselves into a small but effective voice known as the National Indian Youth Council.

As the membership and leadership in the NIYC has changed and developed, so has their outlook and approach in dealing with the problems which concern them. The following excerpts from a recent Statement of Policy are significant, and demand our attention and study.

"Since earliest contacts with Western Man, the American Indian has been considered unproductive, unprogressive and uncooperative. Because we have been classified as a culturally deprived people, we have been subjected to systematic study by foreign cultures resulting in the imposition of institutions and programs to "improve our condition." Millions of dollars have been poured into projects by the government to help the American Indian; somehow this money has by-passed the majority of the tribal communities and ended up in the pockets of administrators and so-called Indian consultants.

Abandoning a program of militant extermination of the Indian, the government has tried to dictate, through the establishment of colonial structures, the direction of Indian life. Concepts of tribal integrity and cultural equanimity have been overlooked in favor of enculturating the Indian and assimilating him into the American mainstream. *As fast as possible, the ending of this policy can be evidenced by the existence of 400,000 Indians still living within a tribal system in reservations through the United States. Most of these people live in communities with economic levels well below the poverty criterion . . .* "The unwillingness to submit to the government's system of cultural death by allowing oneself to exist under these living standards seems, to us, to be a fight as real as the Indian wars of the previous century. The weapons employed by the dominant society have become subtler and more dangerous than guns—these in the form of educational, religious and social reform, have attacked the very centers of Indian

life by attempting to replace native institutions with those of the white man, ignoring the fact that even these native institutions can progress and adapt themselves naturally to the environment."

"The major problem in Indian affairs is that the Indian has been neglected in determining the direction of progress and monies to Indian communities. It has always been white people or white-oriented institutions determining what Indian problems are and how to correct them. The Establishment viewpoint has neglected the fact that there are tribal people within these tribal situations who realize the problems and that these people need only the proper social and economic opportunities to establish and govern policies affecting themselves. Our viewpoint, based in a tribal perspective, realizes, literally, that the Indian problem is the white man, and further, realizes that poverty, educational drop-out, unemployment, etc., reflect only symptoms of a social contact situation that is directed at unilateral cultural extinction."

"Realizing the rise of ethnic consciousness and the dangers of policies directed at that consciousness, the National Indian Youth Council was formed to provide methods of action to protect the tribal communities through implementation and coordination of educational resources. The nature of this work has, basically; been directed into research, training, and planning and programming at community, tribal and national levels. Believing firmly in the right to self-determination of all peoples, we attempt to reverse the hierarchical structure of existing agencies such that "the People" directly determine the policies of organizations and bureaucracies established to serve them: therefore, we act as resource individuals to serve our people."

"The American Indian has been communicating for the past two centuries; it is time that someone listened. The era of the young Indian as spokesman for his people has, we hope, ended. Realizing that we are of a marginal nature, we are not qualified to act as representatives for a tribal people in voicing, deciding and judging issues relevant to these people. We are prepared to address our people, not as "potential leaders", but as resources. Leaders arise from the people; an Indian leader cannot be delegated by the BIA or manufactured out of the tribal community by American society through an education that largely ignores his native culture."

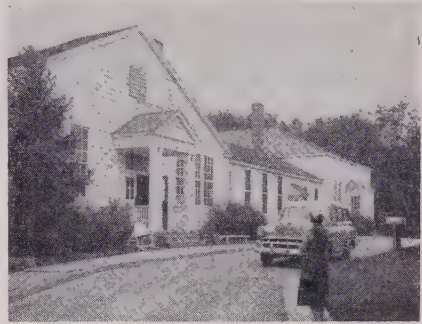
INDIAN TRUTH

ITEMS IN BRIEF

—Mr. Don Stevens, Governor of the Passamaquoddy Tribe (Peter Dana Point) near Princeton, Maine, along with a tribal leader in their educational development, are to visit for approximately one week this spring at the Mesquakie Indian reservation near Tama, Iowa, for the purpose of providing support, encouragement and consultation in regard to the development and management of the Mesquakie's proposed grade school (headstart through ninth grades). The Indian Rights Association is pleased to have been able to help in making this project possible by the securing of a travel grant from a Foundation. The request for this project came from Mr. Don Wanatee, Secretary of the Mesquakie Tribal Council. The Des Moines office of the American Friends Service Committee is also participating in making some arrangements for this project.

—Mrs. Helen Peterson, Assistant Director of the Denver City and County Commission on Community Relations in Colorado (and formerly executive director of the National Congress of American Indians) has been appointed for a six-week lecture tour in Britain during the spring of 1969. The Indian Rights Association is pleased to have been able to participate in making her trip possible through the securing of a travel grant from a trust fund. In her lecture tour, sponsored by British-American Associates in London, Mrs. Peterson will speak on the following subjects:

- 1. The American Indian — Romance, Tragedy, and Today's Reality.
- 2. The American "Melting Pot" —



Present Indian School on the Mesquakie (Sac and Fox) reservation near Tama, Iowa.

Tensions of Color, Creed and Culture.

—The Indian Rights Association announces that its executive director, Armin Saeger, Jr., has been elected to serve as a member of the initial Board of Directors of a recently formed human rights organization called "Southwest Intergroup Relations Council", with temporary headquarters in Austin, Texas. S.I.R.C. will work for better human relations and greater equality of opportunity for Mexican Americans, Negroes, Indians and Anglos in the eight states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas and Utah. It is a pleasure to note the high number of outstanding young Indians who are included on the initial Board. Professor Joseph P. Witherspoon (University of Texas at Austin, School of Law) has been temporary chairman, and Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield (formerly the Director of Field Services for the Southern Regional Council) has been consultant.

INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION

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UNITED NATIVE AMERICANS, INC. AND OTHER INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS

One of the more interesting happenings in Indian community life is the emergence of new or revitalized Indian organizations with an unmistakable identity and purposefulness to their existence. Many of these groups have arisen from among Indians in urban areas or on college campuses, while others have their base in tribal communities.

Lehman Brightman, President of United Native Americans, had this to say about why it was formed: "... the period of (Indian) 'hibernation' is over, and the time for talk is over. Only action can speak now. And for this reason we have formed UNA as a national Indian organization made up of grass-roots Indians from all walks of life who want change."

These sentiments reflect the thinking of many Indians from all parts of the country. Their unity of purpose and desire for change is beginning to be felt from coast to coast as their leaders point out continuing injustices and ask for more democratic controls over Indian programs on reservations and in cities.

Many long established Indian and

BIA backed organizations are fearful of the (so-called) militancy of some of the new organizations, and some have gone on record as opposed to them. Militancy is not to be confused with violence, however, and to our knowledge none of these newer national Indian organizations advocate the use of violence in their efforts to achieve justice or equal opportunities.

As both the old and the newer Indian organizations seek to improve the conditions of their people, one interesting observation should be kept in mind—this is, that many of the more favorable actions taken in recent years by the government and by some of the established Indian organizations (or their 'off-spring'), have come, at least in part, as the result of community social pressures and demands for positive action made upon them by the (so-called) militant individuals and Indian organizations.

Social change rarely occurs without some strain. It is to be expected, however, that the democratic roots in most Indian societies and organizations (as well as in their surrounding dominant non-Indian societies) go deep enough to survive the strains put upon them by today's fast changing world or by those who would place power before people.

ALS

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ARCTIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE FUTURE OF ESKIMO SOCIETIES

by William L. Hensley

Although I am an American citizen and a citizen of Alaska and I accept the responsibilities given to me as a legislator in the Alaska House of Representatives, I speak now as an Eskimo—as an Alaska Native—within the framework of our controversy with the State of Alaska and the United States of America. My purpose in this paper is to inform you of the present controversy in Alaska relating to the claims of the Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut people to land that we have occupied for centuries.

Although we recognize the fact that there is presently little that we can do to secure totally all of the land we occupied in pre-Russian and American times, we do not believe that the simple planting of a flag on our soil secures that land for any country at no cost to it. We are now seeking to secure a settlement with the United States of our land rights.

Most of the world is now aware of the fact that vast deposits of oil have been found on the Arctic Slope of Alaska. It may be less well known that there is presently a great controversy as to whom that land and

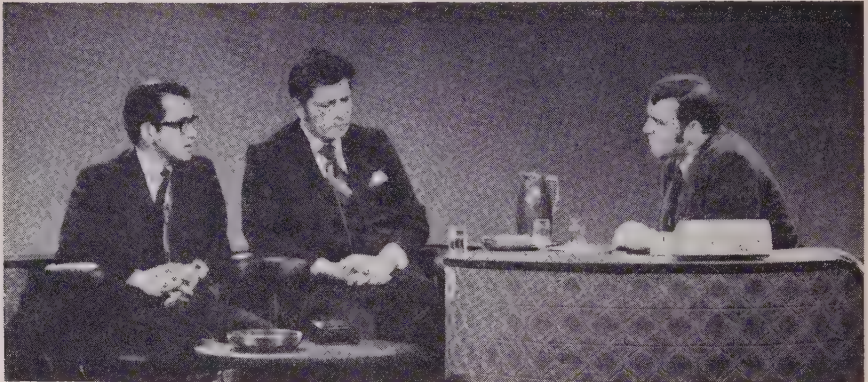
(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

A SURVEY OF THE PRESENT SITUATION OF INDIANS IN CANADA

by John Melling

The following statement attempts to survey briefly the present situation of Canadian Indians and their relations with the Canadian government. This situation cannot be understood except in terms of history, and that history until very recently has been for most Indian groups little more than one of their governmental relationships since the seventies of the last century. True, the West Coast Indians of British Columbia have experienced a fair measure of interaction with rank and file persons of white status in the last one hundred years: a similar degree of interaction has marked a few other groups in Eastern Canada, in small enclaves of the Maritime Provinces and southern Ontario. But after nineteenth century European immigration became an important factor, the Indians in general remained out of sight and out of the minds of most ordinary white settlers until the 1950's. The Indians' culture contacts were first with the fur trader, later with the missionary and last (though far from least) with the government official. The trader brought fire-arms and "fire-water" to the Indians: the mission-

(Continued on Page 8, Col. 2)



Emil Notti, President of the Alaska Federation of Natives, and John Borbridge, the Vice-President, present the land claims case of Alaska Natives to Philadelphia TV viewers, on Channel 29, the Jack McKinney Show.

ARCTIC DEVELOPMENT—

other lands actually belong. Since Alaska is the homeland of 55,000 Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut people; and since the land has never been specifically taken by act of the United States Congress, or in battle, or by abandonment; we declare — indeed, proclaim — that by reason of historic use and occupancy, this is our land.

In order to see our problem in accurate perspective, one must know the historical approach of the United States in dealing with the Indians of the main body of what is now the United States, what necessitated the encroachment on Indian territory, how the acquisitions took place, what the Indians received, and why it is that our present situation is so different in approach and in substance.

Background Concerning The American Indian

The American colonists came in search of a new life. They were not numerous and had to depend to some extent on the good will of the American Indian. Following the separation of the colonies from

England, the new government had to deal with the Indian tribes as separate nations. They signed treaties with them and negotiated with them as equals. However, the number of Americans increased greatly and the pressures of settlement created greater demand for lands held by the Indians. Consequently, the Indians resisted American efforts at gaining more land since they did not care to be pushed further west, and the period of the Indian Wars took place. Being numerically inferior and having less firepower, the Indians were defeated and had to cede large areas of land to the United States. Usually a small area was left to each tribe for its use and held in trust for it by the federal government.

Today, the Indians of the mainland hold only 50 million acres of land and it is the poorest land in the nation. The Indians, however, have been allowed access to the courts to sue the federal government for compensation of land they lost, whether in battle or by act of Congress. In court the Indians have had to prove that they had "Indian Title" to the land—that is, that

they used and occupied the entire area claimed. They have had to prove that this land was taken from them at a particular time. Once proved, compensation was paid to them for the taking, with compensation based upon the value of the land at the time of taking. The United States set up the Indian Claims Commission for the sole purpose of trying to pay money for depriving the Indian of his lands. To date, about \$251 million has been paid to the Indian tribes.¹ The litigation usually takes many years and pits the Indian against the federal government. The compensation for millions of acres of land is usually a small sum when compared with the true value of the land.

It should be noted that the United States Constitution reserves to the federal government the responsibilities of dealing with the Indian tribes.

The Arrival of Russians; Treatment of the Natives

The Russians first sighted the Alaskan land mass in 1741. At the time of their arrival, it is estimated that there were about 74,000 Alaskan Natives. Russia wanted the sea otter, the fur seal, and other resources of our lands. There was little penetration into the populous portions of the giant territory. Forts were established and trade ensued. The Aleuts were subjugated and made to work for the Russians. The Russians were under orders not to move into new territories among the Eskimo and Indian without consent. In practice, this was generally ignored. Nevertheless, the Russians exploited Alaska from 1741 to 1867 and

by the time of the transfer to the United States there were about 35,000 Native people in the territory.²

The Treaty of Cession—1867

Without consultation with the Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut people, the Russian government, for \$7.2 million, sold Alaska to the United States. Russia was in a war in the Crimea and was in danger of losing Alaska to other countries. The Treaty of Cession did not provide for the citizenship of the Native people as it did for the white inhabitants. Section 3 of the Treaty stated that, "the uncivilized Native tribes will be subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may, from time to time, adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country."³

There was not then, nor has there been any agreement by the Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut people to the extinguishment of their ownership of lands in Alaska. At the time of the sale there were about 400 whites in Alaska; for all practical purposes, Alaska was still Native land but encumbered by the law between nations following "discovery" and the transfer of money.

The Organic Act of 1884

The Organic Act of 1884 was passed by the U. S. Congress in response to the clamor by whites who needed to receive title to lands they had discovered gold upon and for the purpose of establishing civil government. Military detachments had governed the territory between 1867 and 1884. This act is the first specific policy pronouncement by the United States regarding the

land of the Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts. It provided in strong terms for the protection of Native land rights:

"Indians or other persons in said district shall not be disturbed in the possession of any lands actually in their use or occupation or now claimed by them, but the terms under which such persons may acquire title to such lands is reserved for future legislation by the U. S. Congress."⁵

Although limited legislation has been enacted to allow for the acquisition of title by individual natives or villages, there has not been specific congressional action to determine completely the extent of Native "use and occupation" and whether we should be granted title to those areas.

Statehood Act; The Built-in Contract

By 1959, Alaska's total population had grown to about 200,000 persons, including about 43,000 Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts. The Alaskan population sought and received Statehood. The Constitution of the newly admitted State of Alaska provided protection to the Native people by stating that:

"The State and its people further disclaim all right or title in or to any property, including fishing rights, the right or title to which may be held by or for any Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut, or community thereof, as that right is defined in the Act of Admission."⁶

There was hope that the Act of Admission to Statehood would dispose of the Native land issue, but it did not:

"As a compact with the United States, said State and its people do agree and declare that they forever disclaim all right title . . . to any lands or other property (including fishing rights), the right or title to which may be held by any Indians, Eskimos, or Aleuts***or is held by the United States in trust for said Natives; that all such lands or other property, belonging to the United States or which may belong to said Natives, shall be and remain under the absolute jurisdiction and control of the United States until disposed of under its authority***"⁷

The new state allowed the Congress to retain jurisdiction over the disposition of the Native land rights issue. But a potential conflict was created when the Congress authorized the new state to select 103 million acres from the land mass of Alaska—land that was being used and occupied by Native people. How could the new state, on one hand, disclaim all right or title to our land and at the same time be allowed to select it under another provision of the Statehood Act?



Better housing, and a better economy to support a healthier standard of living, are primary needs in Alaska.

Furthermore, the Native people were not citizens. They could not hold land or stake mining claims. Consequently, the Native people were pushed off valuable lands that they used and lived on because they did not hold deeds or other written recognized evidence of ownership.

To this day, so little attention has been paid by government officials to the need for formal ownership of land by the Native people that only a tiny fraction of the privately held land in Alaska is owned by the first inhabitants—of the State's 375 million acres, Alaska Natives possess fee title to only 500 acres.⁸

As a result, in part, of the inability of the Native to hold title to land, or to acquire title, economic development has taken place but little benefit has accrued to the Eskimo and Indian people. This has been true of the gold rush period, the period of copper, tin, and other minerals—and it will be true of the oil era unless a change is brought about through federal legislation. It is just such action that the Alaska Federation of Natives is seeking to promote, and is the major reason for its creation.

The Alaska Federation of Natives and its Position

As the State of Alaska began to make its first selections of land under the Statehood Act, it was plain that these selections were being made in areas used and occupied by us, the Native people. As a consequence, village councils began to protest the State selections and appealed to the Secretary of Interior (who is manager of America's public lands, and "guardian"

of the Native people) to stop the granting of Native-claimed lands to the State.

Regional organizations of Native villages sprung up and, in a unified manner, claimed whole regions which were used and occupied by the village people. This process continued and virtually the entire state was blanketed by Native claims. The Secretary of Interior was initially at a loss as to what should be done in view of the unclear legal directions provided in the Act of Admission to statehood and his role as "guardian" of the Native people. At this point in time, the Alaska Federation of Natives was organized.

The Alaska Federation of Natives emerged as a moving force in 1966 because of the threat to Native lands. Initially, the Federation consisted of 19 regional and village groups. It presently is a vehicle through which the various regional groups are pushing for a settlement.

The creation of the Federation changed the political face of Alaska. Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts comprise about 30 per cent of the voting public in Alaska. The year 1966 marked a turning point for the Native people in that this was the first time in history we had a unified effort to promote an equitable land settlement, and organized to change public policy that was adverse to us.

The Federation was seen by the political leaders of the State as a vehicle with which they could work to become elected. In fact, 1966 was the year the present Secretary of Interior was elected Governor of Alaska, in part, by appealing to the Native vote.

The Land Freeze

The Federation immediately began to work for a halt to disposition of land to the State until the U.S. Congress could make a determination regarding Native rights to the land. Of course, the State continued to seek to secure land for sale and development. Secretary Udall ordered the Bureau of Land Management, an agency in the Department of Interior, to cease processing of applications for patent in lands that were being claimed by Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut people. This came to be known as the "land freeze." This administrative order was later formalized by Secretary Udall by withdrawal of all Alaskan lands from disposal to the State or to any others until the U. S. Congress has an opportunity to act on the matter. But the "freeze" will be lifted at the end of 1970, if no action is taken.

The importance of the "land freeze" to the Native people is that it prevents anyone, including the State, from taking lands that may be granted to villages in a Congressional settlement. Furthermore, the pressure for a settlement continues on all parties so long as the status quo on land disposition remains. The Native people, the State, the Interior Department, and the Committees of Congress are all actively working toward a settlement.

The Major Proposals Before the U.S. Congress

The first proposal, and the one to which the Alaska Federation of Natives and the Department of the Interior have proposed amendments, is based upon elements of a legislative settlement suggested by

the Federal Field Committee—a small federal research organization in Alaska. This bill includes conveyance of one township of land (23,040 acres) to each of 209 listed Native villages, payment of \$100 million from funds appropriated by the Congress in a lump sum, and payment of a 10% share of the revenues derived from federal lands within Alaska—and outer continental shelf lands off the shore of Alaska—for a period of ten years. (It is important here to understand that the State of Alaska now shares in 90% of the revenues from on-shore federal lands in Alaska.) All mineral rights under the village townships are to be given to and administered by a statewide Native corporation also charged with the management and disbursement of appropriated funds and shared revenues. During its first ten years the corporation—whose stockholders are to be all Alaska Natives—is to be rather closely controlled. At the end of that time it is to become an ordinary business corporation with its shares of stock freely bought and sold.

Very important to the content and form of any legislative proposal is the viewpoint of the executive branch of the national government. This viewpoint is expressed in an amendment submitted by the Secretary of the Interior, Walter J. Hickel. This provides for conveyance of one township of land to each of 13 named villages now located in a National Forest and two townships (46,080 acres) of land to each of an additional 192 villages. Locatable minerals—that is, gold, silver, lead, zinc, etc.—are also conveyed with the surface title to the land, but leaseable minerals

—that is, oil, gas, and sulfur—are retained by the national government. As compensation for Native land use rights extinguished in the past and by this settlement a total sum of \$500 million is to be appropriated by the Congress in twenty equal annual sums. The closely controlled, statewide, Native-owned corporation to administer funds is adopted in this proposal, but the period of its control is extended to twenty years.

The proposal prepared by the Alaska Federation of Natives provides for either four townships (92,160 acres) or 500 acres of land per person, whichever is greater, for each of 242 listed villages and four sections (640 acres each) in each township in the state to the appropriate regional Native corporation. These conveyances include all mineral rights. As compensation \$500 million is to be granted by the Congress payable \$100 million the first year and \$50 million each of the eight years following. Because much of the land of Alaska is still occupied and used by Alaska Natives as their ancestors used the land, it is also proposed that 2% of the proceeds from the lease or sale of federal lands in Alaska be paid to Alaska Natives for the extinguishment of this present right of use and occupancy. It is this part of our proposal and its extension to the lands which the State of Alaska is entitled to choose under the terms of the Act admitting Alaska to the United States as a state which some say is alienating many non-Native Alaskans.

There are other obvious differences of degree in the three proposals—between 5 million acres and 40 million acres; between \$500

million and \$500 million plus a 2% royalty in perpetuity; between ten and twenty years of governmental supervision. But from one of these proposals—or from parts of all of them—it is anticipated there will emerge the terms of settlement of a century-old claim.

The Consequences of a Poor Settlement or no Settlement

The Native people of Alaska have had to be realists in dealing with the State and Federal officials concerning the land use. Although, in terms of the legal theory relating to Indian Title, we know that we still retain the land—but only Congress can confirm—or extinguish—our ownership.

Our initial reaction in 1966 was to ask for confirmation to all lands we use and occupy today. But we knew this was impossible under the political circumstances.

Our position has been to go for what we feel is within reason—but not to buckle when pressure is brought to bear before we reach Capitol Hill.

We are testing the American political system. We have found it responsive up to this time and have hope. We know the history of our country in dealing with the American Indian and want to see a final chapter not written in blood or in deception or in injustice. We are not numerous and recognize the pitfalls in securing this unprecedented kind of legislation.

We are seeking an alternative to wardship. We seek to offer alternatives to Eskimo and Indian people rather than a one way ticket into the confused mainstream. We feel our people cannot convert to

a cash economy overnight and will continue to fish and hunt for many years. On the other hand, we see that the young Natives seek education and new places. These should be available. We want to be able to live longer and more decently without having to stoop in indignity because of a degrading welfare system. We feel this is possible if we can secure the kind of land settlement we are proposing.

If there is no settlement or a poor one, we will have a generation of leaders who fought for years to protect their land and lost. This may start a chain of events in which it is seen by future generations of Natives as a disaster for us—an injustice that will mar the relations between Natives and whites for many years. It may bring defeatism to the people and will prevent us from becoming an integral part of Alaska's social and economic development. Our present political influence will diminish and the efforts to develop our communities will falter. Such would be the consequences of a poor settlement or no settlement. Not only that, but America will have lost an opportunity to right old wrongs and for once, allow the first American a fair deal.

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INDIANS IN CANADA—

(Continued from Page 1)

ary converted them to at least a formal acceptance of the Christian religion: but government determined for the Indians their future land-base, imposing on them not only a stingy, laissez-faire paternalism but a life of separateness from the rest of Canadians.

This separateness dates from 1860's when most of the so-called treaties began to be transacted between the Canadian government and those groups of Indians who, literally, stood in the way of white settlement. The date is important. Before the 1860's in Canada, as indeed in the thirteen colonies in the eighteenth century, there had been pressure from British settlers for expropriation of Indian land for agricultural purposes. But the British Government in London had resisted. In 1860, however, seven years before Canadian confederation, Westminster transferred to the Provinces of Canada full responsibility for "Indians and Indian lands." The consequences were immediate. The united Province of Upper & Lower Canada at once set to work to bring about the Indian surrender of lands adjacent to Lakes Huron & Superior (Robinson Treaties of 1860 & 1862). Following the suppression of Louis Riel's Provisional Government on the Prairies (1870), a pell-mell process began of "bringing the Indians into Treaty", of splitting up their tribal groups, and ultimately of isolating them on 2200 reserves or reservations organized in 500 bands. The remaining 99% of the Canadian land surface became, theoretically at least, available for white settlement, though it is worth em-

phasizing that even today only about one-half of the Indian population has been "brought into treaty". The remaining half either declined to enter into treaty relations or because of lack of interest on the part of the whites, were not even invited. Consequently, Indians are still "outside treaty" in Newfoundland Provinces, the Yukon & the Northwest Territories, and most important of all, British Columbia, where the process of integration between Indians and Whites has, as a result, gone further than anywhere else.

Though there were some protective or custodial features of Treaty arrangements in Canada, it is fairer to point to the cynical, self serving spirit in which the treaties were signed on the government side. It is necessary also to indicate that, south of the 60th latitude, even those Indians who refused treaty relations or who had not taken a cash settlement in lieu of land were concentrated into reserves where they received a little primary education, occasionally equipment and supplies either for small-scale agriculture or for the traditional pursuits of hunting, fishing, and trapping, and of course "relief" in case starvation threatened. The responses of many Indian people since that time could almost be predicted—dispiritment, apathy, unwillingness to try to do as much with their (usually poor) land as they could have done, a prevailing attitude of "can't make it" and, until the overspill from the reserves in the last fifteen years or so, an almost complete indifference to government exhortations to make the most of their schooling. By the end of World War I, the

Indians had declined in numbers by 100,000, as compared with a century before, and in effect though not legally—they had become a great family of wards.

Present Day Adjustments

Two factors since then have operated to transform the situation. First, there was the government's introduction of Indian Health services through the Department of National Health and Welfare (although these services were technically not free, the indigence of Indians virtually made them free.) As a consequence, Indian population has shot up to its present level of 225,000, exclusive of at least another 80,000 persons of Indian background and way of life who, like Louis Riel, are called Metis because of mixed descent and their exclusion from the privileges and disabilities of official Indian status. Second, there was so much pressure of population on the restricted resources of reserves that an overspill occurred and an exodus from them, which has already brought about 50,000 registered Indians, and also many Metis, into the large cities or, more usually, the small towns and villages. Here, the Indians have learned the hard way that successful competition with whites for jobs is quite impossible without formal schooling. Accordingly, the government's exhortations to use the constantly improving educational opportunities are now being seriously attended to, at least by some Indians.

Of course, educational preparation for modern life is only one aspect of the total preparation which the Indians need if they are to adapt successfully to that life.

People who have been isolated from the mainstream of civilization during a period of such rapid change that even the whites involved in that change have found adaptation to be difficult, cannot be projected into that mainstream and just be told to "sink or swim". The values of most Canadian Indians are not those of the cultural

ural separateness because they have never known anything else, and those who do know something of the white man's world and are willing to undertake the limited experiment of sifting out of their own culture those aspects which they can combine with aspects of the alien culture in such a way as to get on working terms with modern



Contrary to the provincial identification of these young ladies, Canadian Indians wish to relate to the Canadian federal government rather than to the provincial governments. The former has had treaty responsibilities for them; the provinces, like the states of the U.S. for the most part, do not.

majority; among other differences, the notion of advancing themselves as individuals rather than members of their group is alien to their culture. If some of them do now share the white man's values, it is because in certain areas of Canada, they have been living physically close to the white man for sufficiently long, participating in his institutions and becoming assimilated. But two other groups of Indians still form the vast majority, namely those who still prefer cult-

life. The group just mentioned is nowadays quite a large one, though it chiefly consists of youngish people. They want to remain distinctive; any "melting pot" process horrifies them; but they are ready for a functional integration, particularly in an economic sense.

How necessary this economic integration has become even for those Indians who do not desire it is evident both from the concrete facts of their situation and from their sense of "relative depriva-

tion"; that is, from both their actual underprivilege and from their disinclination to notice the sundry and recent improvements in their own lot so much as the greater improvements in the circumstances of others. Between them and the whites the gap has continued to widen. As Canada approached her Centennary celebrated by the Indians with a dignity and restrained sorrow of which readers of **Indian Truth** had evidence in the autumn issue of 1967 their economic plight was becoming statistically known to other Canadians for the first time. Two hundred thousand of them were living in families whose breadwinners earned less than \$4,000; one hundred and fifty thousand of them were in families earning less than \$2,000. Only 14% of them held skilled jobs. Over 60% of them were gainfully employed for fewer than six months annually. The same percentage of them lived in sub-standard houses of three rooms or less, without electricity. Only 11% of Indian homes had sewerage, indoor lavatories and baths; only 13% of them had piped water. The infant mortality rate was almost three times greater than the national average—75 per 1000 live births, compared with 27. And despite all the impressive advances in formal education, only 200 Indians were achieving a university education (though a great improvement on the 70 of five or six years beforehand); fewer than 1000 were taking vocational training; and less than 5000 were in high school.

Improvements in Education and Economy.

Educational improvements had begun after World War II. The

lack of complete or even adequate schooling facilities on the reserves forced the federal government more and more to transport school-children out of the reserves into "integrated" or "amalgamated" classrooms operated by provincial governments. Indeed, the federal Indian Affairs Branch was extremely anxious to enter into agreements with provincial governments for buying educational services for Indian children. Yet though it committed itself firmly to the principle of educational integration, it delayed until 1960 a commitment to economic integration. Only in that year was an Economic Development Division set up within the federal Indian Affairs Branch, which for a year or two previously had been turning its attention to the social adjustment of city-dwelling Indians, the new Division began the long and arduous process of assisting Indian communities and individuals to provide for their basic needs at a level more comparable with that of other Canadian groups. Explicitly, the primary aim was to foster individual and group participation in Canadian economic and social life; but for the actual majority of "stay-at-home" Indians most of whom were past the age at which a modern schooling of any advanced training could begin, the immediate subordinate aim was to assist Indians, through self-help programs, to put locally available resources to the best possible use.

A modest measure of success has been achieved by the Economic Development Division. Substantial numbers of unemployed Indian youth have been re-enrolled in school for up-grading their academic qualifications to the point

where they could undertake one or another type of vocational training.

This has been done under Program 5 of the Technical and Vocational Training Act, which is a joint Federal-Provincial scheme involving cost sharing. Placement officers have been installed in urban centres adjacent to the more important Indian territories; these officers have aided Indians in finding suitable wage employment. So far as renewable resources are concerned, special programs have been developed in dairy-farming, stock-breeding, agriculture, wild-life, and fisheries. For example, through the Fur Rehabilitation program, Indians have been encouraged to participate in game conservation; they have also been helped to develop and organize domestic and commercial fisheries through pilot projects, supply of nets, help in building packing sheds and marketing and shipping advisory services.

The Indian Affairs Branch also operates a public housing program, part of the purpose of which is to encourage individual Indians to contribute their own labor for the erection of the fabricated parts and for covering some of the costs thereby. With the amalgamation in 1968 of the Indian Affairs Branch and the Northern Administration, which serves Eskimos in a new comprehensive Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, some of the anomalies in the respective treatment of Eskimos and Indians—including anomalies in housing standards—are now being removed.

In one respect both of these indigenous ethnic groups have all along been placed on an equality

with white Canadians: they have been included in the statutory welfare programs for Old Age Assistance, Disabled Persons Allowances, Blind Persons Allowances, and Family Allowances. Their access to certain other kinds of welfare service has been much less satisfactory—child welfare services, rehabilitation services, special institutional care for the deaf and the retarded and boarding house care for elderly adults. This is because the Indians and Eskimos are the legal responsibility of the federal government, either living in the northern territories or occupying scattered small patches of land that could only be successfully administered by a provincial government.

The rights and privileges enjoyed by Canadian Indians have been more than cancelled out by their disabilities. Although their situation today is more nearly equal than ever before, they remain—if anything—more alienated. And, of course, they feel acutely the prejudice, if not outright discrimination, against them which is hard-dying legacy of the past.



Delbridge Honanie (Hopi) and his first-prize-winning poster.

all photos by Theodore B. Hetzel



Taos Pueblo and its river, which flowing from the sacred Blue Lake, brings it life and spiritual strength.

TAOS WANTS JUSTICE, NOT COMPENSATION FOR INJUSTICE

One of the most critical pieces of Indian legislation considered by Congress in recent years is now before the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Titled H. R. 471, it would return to the Taos Pueblo Indians their sacred Blue Lake lands in northern New Mexico.

A similar bill, H. R. 3306, was approved unanimously by the House of Representatives in 1968, but it died in the Senate Subcommittee because of adamant opposition by Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D., N. M.). Once more passed by the House and being considered by the Senate group chaired by Senator Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.), this constructive measure is desperately in need of strong public support.

The sad story of the Taos is well known. The Pueblo de Taos Indians owned and continuously occupied the land in question from about 1400 to 1906 A. D. when the federal government absorbed it into the Carson National Forest.

Until that action, both the Spaniards and later the Mexicans, as well as the United States when it acquired the territory of New Mexico by treaty in 1848, recognized the Indians' property rights. For six centuries they have been and still are a sedentary group who live in a central village and use the surrounding land for farming, grazing, hunting, and religious ceremonies. Moreover, the Indian Claims Commission reaffirmed their title in 1965.

The struggle of this small tribe of Indians to regain control of their sacred Blue Lake region now symbolizes for Indians and non-Indians a test of the sincerity of our nation's regard for the rights, culture, and religion of its original inhabitants.

The Taos have been terribly handicapped in their struggle by an acute shortage of funds. All contributions, large or small, through the Indian Rights Association, would help them continue their efforts. If you cannot give but wish to help, write to Senator Henry M. Jackson or to Senators Hugh D. Scott and Richard S. Schweiker, Republicans of Pennsylvania. Tell them of your desire to give the original Americans fair treatment.

Thomas V. O'Leary

ACTION NOW ON S-3135

The Indian Rights Association endorses Senate Bill S-3135, introduced by Senator Muskie of Maine, which provides for certain Federal aid to non-Federal Indian groups. This is now before the Senate for action—write Senator Muskie and your own senators encouraging support for this Bill.

BOOK REVIEWS—

OUR BROTHER'S KEEPER: THE INDIAN IN WHITE AMERICA. Edited by Edgar S. Cahn. New Community Press/World. 193 pages. \$5.95; paperback \$2.95.

This book tells it like it is now, not just the way it is supposed to be. It does not make pleasant reading, but it should be read by everyone who is interested in Indians, or who thinks he is informed about Indians.

Many people and all Indians know about the local situation, but this gives the national picture. It deals with the relations of state and federal governments with Indians; with education (an instrument of annihilation); with public health services (Indians the subject of treatment, not the planners and participants); land (the sustenance for the roots of their souls and bodies); why the Bureau of Indian Affairs is sometimes the Indians' best friend and sometimes their worst enemy; the lessons the BIA teaches Indians: (1) It is futile and even dangerous to try to function on one's own terms in keeping with one's own culture, tradition and sense of identity; (2) Only incompetency and dependency bring rewards, gratification and security to Indians on the reservations; (3) All the Indian must do to succeed is tear himself away from his land, his people and his heritage—then but only then he can have economic security, prestige, power, approval and material wealth.

With all this depth and breadth of study of the BIA and Indian affairs it seems unfortunate that the book makes no recommendations.

Not white man's recommendations to Indians, but to white men. That has been the Indians' problem, the decisions made by our society of what to do to Indians. It's time to know what to stop doing to Indians, and how to make opportunities for Indians to decide and do what they think is needful. And make sure that the criticisms of what is being done wrong do not play into the hands of those who would like to terminate all special federal relations with Indians, with the pretense of justice, equality, and full-fledged citizenship, (that's a hoax and a joke—it's the Indians who have the feathers).

TBH

ALASKA NATIVES AND THE LAND. Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska. 565 pages. Superintendent of Documents. \$16.

This monumental report was prepared for the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to supply "a compilation of background data and interpretive materials relevant to a fair and intelligent resolution of the Alaska Native (land) problem." There are 279 figures, including many maps, charts, tabulations of data, plus 118 excellent and representative photographs.

Chapters deal with: an overview of Alaska Natives today, village Alaska, land and ethnic relations, natural resources, the land issue, economic development, framework for decisions. A bibliography supplements each chapter. The last chapter summarizes and recommends from the viewpoint of the non-native. Some persistent misrepresentations and misunderstand-

ings are evident. Proposals ostensibly to avoid racial discrimination would actually deprive Natives of ownership and special privilege. Reservations are referred to as being places of isolation and social and economic disadvantage. That is true for some reservations, but for those who live there it is better to own the land and be protected so that no one can take it away. The Arctic Slope of Alaska was thought to be worthless a few years ago, but it is now the scene of tremendous economic activity. Why is it proposed that Natives be given the surface, but not the subsurface rights? Why should they be protected only at a subsistence economy level, why not compensate with interest for the value of land taken years ago, why not include in the evaluation of trust land taken, the added value of freedom from taxation, why pay now only the value estimated at the time of taking, when the value now is much higher because of the discovery of minerals or petroleum?

The recommendations are obviously from the white man's viewpoint. There may be advantages of retaining governmental management of the land, but there are no advantages to the Natives of them not owning the land. The proposal to grant the Natives title to their land in fee simple is to assure that most such land will be sold to non-natives, as has happened in the lower 48. Moreover it would be impractical at present, because the cost of surveying would be too great. Land is forever and is a source of livelihood; rent is insufficient for subsistence, and a lump sum payment is soon spent.

TBH

WITHOUT RESERVE, among the northern forest Indians. By Sheila Burnford. Atlantic/Little Brown, 242 pages. 1969. \$5.95.

An account of extended visits to remote Indian communities in Canada, attractively illustrated with drawings done by the author's traveling companion, Susan Ross. They came "not to exhort or teach, heal, snoop, pay or persuade, but in peace alone, in friendly interest, to learn something of their language and life." They made many friends, and fitted in with the life of the communities, identifying with the Cree and Ojibwa Indians.

However, the author's WASP values show through occasionally.

"If most of the people I have written about seem pleasant and endearing, it is because I have found them that way. I admit quite freely that I am biased." Perhaps her bias is different than she thinks. She speaks of "the Indian people and their situation in a just Canadian society." That is disputed by Harold Cardinal in "The Unjust Society". She says that "The Indian Act will soon be amended, according to the wishes of the Indian people." I have never heard an Indian who believes that. She does agree with Indians that the "land reserved for the exclusive use of its aboriginal people . . . is always there to return to for the stability and security and refreshment that comes of being among one's own people."

She has felt compassionately, observed in detail and written well, but occasionally her slips show.

TBH

INDIANS AT ALCATRAZ

From the 1868 treaty with the Sioux, etc. and Arapaho: "And it is further stipulated that any male Indians, over eighteen years of age, of any band or tribe that is, or shall hereafter become a party to this treaty, who now is or shall hereafter become a resident or occupant of any reservation or Territory not included in the tract of country designated and described in this treaty for the permanent home of the Indians, which is not mineral land, nor reserved by the United States for special purposes other than Indian occupation, and who shall have made improvements thereon of the value of two hundred dollars or more, and continuously occupied the same as a homestead for the term of three years, shall be entitled to receive from the United States a patent for one hundred and sixty acres of land including his said improvements"

On March 8, 1964, a band of Sioux Indians, noting that the island was not being used by the Federal government, laid physical claim to the island by arriving in full tribal dress. They left the island several hours after they landed because they were threatened with violence by a Federal employee. The Indian claim was taken to court, to be prosecuted through legal channels.

The Native American community in 1969 became aware that proposals were being accepted by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors for the purchase of Alcatraz from the Federal government. All of these proposals had been made by

wealthy private bidders. The Native American community was outraged since the prior Sioux claim was not being acknowledged and the island was being proposed for use by commercial interests.

Since the San Francisco American Indian Center had just been destroyed by fire, the Indian people, young and old voted unanimously to take Alcatraz to be used as an Indian culture center. On November 20 the Indians landed again on Alcatraz Island. Over 30 tribes from across the nation are now represented by the six hundred now encamped on the island.

They plan a center for Native American Studies, an American Indian Spiritual Center, an Indian Center of Ecology, an Indian Training School, and an American Indian Museum. In support of their efforts they solicit contributions, to be sent to the Alcatraz Relief Fund, 3189 - 16th St., San Francisco CA - 94103.

1970 ANNUAL DINNER AND BUSINESS MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Indian Rights Association is scheduled for Wednesday evening, May 27th at the First Unitarian Church, 2125 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. The dinner is set for 6:30 p.m. and the business program will begin at 8 o'clock. All members and interested persons are cordially invited. Details of the program and dinner cost will be announced later, at which time dinner reservations will be accepted. Those desiring to attend the 8 o'clock meeting and not the dinner will be welcomed.

INDIAN TRUTH

The Indian Rights Association, 1505 Race St., Phila., Pa. 19102

FOUNDED 1882

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FREDERICA FRICKEN, *Assistant Editor*

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Earl Old Person, Chairman of the Blackfeet and President of the National Congress of American Indians, addressing the dinner meeting of the Indian Rights Association in April, Leo T. Connor, Esq., Frank Ducheneaux, Jr. and Harry Watt.

Thank you, Mr. Connor, for your introduction, and thanks to those who made it possible for me to be here tonight. There are many people in leadership positions, such as those at the head table. young Indian men such as Mr. Ducheneaux, who are the leaders we are looking for, who can tell people what Indians are like, and what we desire. We need communication to understand each other better.

The TV version of Indians is not always accurate. We have an organization, the National Congress of American Indians, and other organizations that are trying to tell what Indians are like, what they went through in the past, of their present efforts. We are proud of our Indian heritage, our dress and our Indian way of life. But we want people to know of our efforts

Our reservations were not given to us, it was our land. We want to

develop our resources—natural and human. We have hidden talents. We are working with the BIA, with the Congress, with federal and state agencies, trying to get some recognition in our home that we may voice our problems, and show what we want. We do not want a hand-out, we want something we can use and to be of help to Indians and to all people of the country we live in, because we are Americans.

We have young people, students, who are concerned. When I was young, I was not concerned. I didn't know about our tribal government. But today young people want to be heard, they are trying to do what they can to help. They are intelligent and capable enough to work out ways of entering into leadership.

It won't require demonstrations to accomplish what we want, because our ancestors, our Indian people have pride and faith, and understanding of our way of life. Not to return to living in tipis, but to keep our traditions, and our land, our Indian dances and art work, and anything we can preserve. We want to be recognized as Indians, but Indians who are moving forward, who are doing whatever they can to help their fellow Americans.

We work closely with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, with our Congressmen and Senators, trying to get recognition of what we want. The NCAI is one voice to speak for reservations and Indian people to the people of America. The Indian Rights Association is making the same kind of an effort to be of help to those in need. We need to work together to understand each other and our problems. The IRA is doing a job that they feel

should be done, but they too want to know just what else they should do to help in the efforts of Indian people. This is the kind of help we need to give one another: Communication—Indian people do not ask for a handout, but for help and encouragement.

The Blackfeet reservation consists of one and a half million acres. We have an enrollment of 10,000 people, more than half live on the reservation, the rest live all over the United States. They have to go off to look for jobs. We do not have the jobs that could be provided for our young people. Many of our young people are looking for an education. They realize that this is the only weapon, this is the only way to make a living in this world.

When I first went to grade school my parents didn't seem to care if I had a good attendance record, a good report card. They did not think that education was important. But a few years later they began to encourage us, told us to attend school to try to advance ourselves. My father said this is your only way out. He told me I had a choice of pencil or a spoon. The pencil meant education, the spoon was a shovel. You used to be able to get a job with a shovel. But today you need to have an education to run a machine, to dig a post hole. I know. I've worked on a railroad to earn money for school. The degree I earned was PhD, which is "post hole digger". I am trying to use what little opportunity I have had to advance myself. As I went further into high school I began to recognize that our parents are concerned, concerned about the future of their children. They want their children to be useful. We will be gone and

the young people will have to take the leadership.

Many men who have held the position that I now hold have done all they could to try to direct all Indian people toward a better future. These efforts can continue if the National Congress of American Indians and the IRA are supported. Without leaders who can stand and shout out what Indian people need, we are not going to accomplish anything. Fortunately, we have young Indian leaders like Mr. Ducheneaux and others who are working in Washington, D. C. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has assured us that we will have a voice in policy making, that we will have Indians in his realignment of the Bureau.

We will have to be aggressive, we will have to have a weapon, and that weapon is education. Education is a broad field, it is not only in textbooks. Technical training is an advancement too.

I hope you of the IRA will encourage Indian people, so that we can be of help to each other. This is our need. We want a chance to be able to develop what we have. There is a threat of termination of Indian reservations in the future. But so long as we have the reservations, so long as we have the land, so long as we have the leadership, so long as we are ambitious enough, we will move forward and preserve and develop what we have. This can be accomplished with your help.

I appreciate this opportunity of speaking with you. I hope that I have given something of a message, of what Indian people are like, and what efforts are being made, and about the National Congress of American Indians. It is growing,

getting more powerful. That is not enough, we need follow-up, we need support in Washington, that is where we need your help. You can be of great help to us. Just your appearance here tonight is an encouragement.

Whenever we have our Indian dances, I encourage those who are present at the dances. Not everyone can be a dancer or a singer. Just your presence is an encouragement to our Indian way of gathering. It is uplifting, makes us want to go on. Without the people, without their interest, the dancers and the singers, after a while, would not exist. Whenever we have our Indian festivities, our dances, we set aside all the problems we are confronted with and just have a good old get-together and a good time. After our Indian days, our celebrations, we take back those burdens and we put them back on and try to do something about them. So, I want to say that whenever you are in Montana, near the Blackfeet, near Glacier National Park, try to make it to Browning and the Blackfeet, and you will be welcome.



Vine Deloria, Sr. speaking at the University of Pennsylvania.

"The Indian Rights Association is the place to put your money if you want to help Indians."

THE INDIAN AND WHITE MAN'S LAW

BY MONROE E. PRICE

Monroe E. Price is professor of law at UCLA and deputy director of California Indian Legal Services. In addition, he serves as chairman of the American Bar Assn's Committee on the American Indian.

For most Americans, the protection of legal rights works within a well-defined system. The laws that control our lives are of our own making and, having evolved concurrently with our culture, conform substantially to our own ideas of what is right. The legal system is designed to maximize freedom, to encourage people to plan, to act, to be enterprising.

For American Indians, federal law does the opposite.

The laws affecting Indians are those of an alien culture and have been designed not to maximize freedom, but to shape and channel the lives of Indians as the federal government from time to time thinks wise. The laws are administered by a bureaucracy which is just emerging from a colonial past. The system for protecting Indian rights is full of traps. The federal government, obligated to represent Indians in protecting their natural resources, is disabled by conflicting loyalties.

Because Indian rights are subject to so many restrictions and limitations, landholdings slowly diminish, valuable water rights dribble away until valuable economic and human resources are in desperate straits. As a result, development of these resources is impossible and the Indian remains doomed to poverty and distress as reflected in the statistics which have been reiterated until the citizen has been dulled by them.

Today, a major issue in the protection of Indian legal rights is the hopeless tangle of conflicting interests within the Department of Interior and the Department of Justice.

The federal government holds all Indian lands in trust for the Indians. As trustee of Indian lands, the government is legally bound to preserve and protect Indian resources against diminution. Indians have been told, time and again, that the federal government intends to fulfill its obligations; and as a consequence, they have relied on government advocacy in their interest.

On the other hand, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Bureau of Land Management all have interests which are contrary to those of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, yet they are all agencies of the Department of the Interior and all respond to the secretary and rely on the same lawyers.

Indian Rights Trampled

It is easy to see that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has the least powerful constituency. The Indian must look for protection of his rights to an agency which is often politically too weak to oppose the Indian's foes within the same department.

A few examples will illustrate how Indian rights are trampled or ignored through the internal conflicts of the Department of Interior.

The Department of Interior, wearing the hat of the Bureau of Reclamation, seeks to divert Colorado River water for the benefit of non-Indian users in the growing cities of the Southwest. The same is true along the Rio Grande and in other river basins. The Indians

are not consulted and their rights to water are virtually disregarded. Among powerful voices, the Indian people have difficulty in being heard.

When these Indian interests are in litigation, the Justice Department often represents these conflicting interests.

Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation is a recent example of conflict. While the Bureau of Reclamation was pillaging the lake by diverting the Truckee, the Bureau of Indian Affairs sat quietly by, not raising any questions.

Just this year, the Department of Interior urged the Navajo Tribal Council to surrender vast amounts of Colorado River water for the 1969 version of trinkets. As a final irony, the agency the Indians are supposed to trust—the Bureau of Indian Affairs—prepared the resolution giving away valuable Indian water rights for the Tribal Council.

The problems of Indians involving departmental conflicts are often characterized by their low visibility and technical character. Congressman Pettis of California recently expressed his outrage at what he called the “contemptible conduct” which resulted in the “giveaway” of 1,500 acres of valuable Mojave Indian land by the Bureau of Land Management to the State of California. The Mojaves had been denied their day in court through a series of technical and procedural decisions—hardly page one material. Yet, although the cavalry is absent, the result is the same.

A related obstacle to protecting Indian rights to land is psychological. Non-Indians scoff at native rights to land, expediently forgetting that the idea of private prop-

erty is deeply embodied in the American experience. They may object to “unearned” income.

In Parker, Ariz., recently, a non-Indian truckdriver who lives near a fertile reservation complained bitterly about the lease income some Indian people obtained without work. It seems improper to some that a few Indians in Palm Springs should wax rich because their land soars in value, but no one bothers to question the right of descendants of industrial giants to their inherited wealth. Unlike Horatio Alger, Indians are supposed to work hard and remain poor.

The dissipation of Indian land and water rights continues with the passage of time. Whole economies are built upon dying Indian rights. At some point the wrong becomes so monumental that correction is beyond the legal conscience.

That is part of the difficulty of the Navajo Reservation, where water claims to the Colorado can unsettle patterns of growth in Arizona, New Mexico and the rest of the Southwest. In Southern California, the San Luis Rey, which used to water the reservations of the Pauma Valley, now bypasses them to serve white-owned citrus and avocado groves and the gleaming subdivisions of Escondido.

Water and land disappear while the government mulls over what to do. Recently, Federal Judge Edward J. Schwartz in San Diego ordered the Department of Justice to take a stand on how best to protect Indian water rights of two small reservations on the San Luis Rey River. In the San Luis Rey case, the federal government had been “considering” how to fulfill its trust duty for almost 45 years

as valuable water was lost each year.

In another Indian water rights case, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals expressed its agreement with the judgment that "from the very beginnings of this nation, the chief issue around which federal Indian policy has revolved has been, not how to assimilate the Indian nations whose lands we usurped, but how best to transfer Indian lands and resources to non-Indians."

In another case, a woman whose land was taken for taxes in the Nez Perce Reservation in Idaho asked the government to take corrective action. In 1962, she was told the government would look into it. Seven years later she had heard no reply.

Indian rights have also suffered because of deficiencies in the effectiveness of the private bar. Part of the reason for less than adequate advocacy lies in the debilitating requirement that contracts between a tribe and its lawyer be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. No other American has to have his lawyer approved by a potential adversary.

Lawyers cannot help but feel that intense criticism of the government may mean that their contracts will not be renewed. Lawsuits which too vigorously attack bureau incompetence may mean unfavorable action by local Bureau of Indian Affairs officials on an attorney's contract.

Part of the fault lies with the bar itself. Two years ago, George Ringwald of the Riverside Enterprise won a Pulitzer Prize for disclosing unconscionable fees and unethical conduct by the bench and bar charged with protecting the estates of Palm Springs Indians.

Land and water are tangible aspects of important spiritual rights. The continuing destruction of the economic basis of Indian society goes hand in hand with destruction of the spirit. After over 1,000 years of continuous occupancy, some New Mexico Pueblos may lose their ability to function as communities as their source of water disappears.

The federal government has used federal law in important ways to hasten the decline of Indian culture. Reservations are used as a weapon to force the Indian into a mold, to change the Indian's personality, his style of life, his religion and his diet rather than as a means of preserving and perpetuating a valuable culture. The trustee of Indian lands has looked at its job as "civilizing" the Indian, as turning him into a farmer, or a city-dweller, a welder, or migrant worker.

Reservations Underpopulated

Land lies fallow because Congress and the secretary refuse to allow long-term leases. Reservations are underpopulated because of massive federal efforts to end the future of the community by attracting its youth to the city. Indian schools are used to teach children that their own culture, language and religion are second-rate and should be rejected. "Our Brother's Keeper," a splendid recent book edited by Edgar S. Cohn, cites an ironic essay assignment in a Chippewa school. The topic: "Why we are all happy the Pilgrims landed."

The right to a way of life is closely tied to the right to hold land, to have a private place where families can flourish in their own way. Yet even that has been denied the Indians.

No other group in the United States has been subjected to a purposeful land redistribution scheme designed to change patterns of culture. As recently as 1958, the Congress authorized the breaking up of the already small, remote and scattered California rancherias. "Termination"—the federal policy of the 1950s—was designed to end the Indian way of life and bring the Indian people into the mainstream by carving up the land of the Indians, distributing it to them individually, and ending all federal assistance and protection of the Indians.

Law and the legal system, then, have not served the Indian people well. The legal system has not lived up to its promise because it is overweighted with internal conflicts. The result is a history of federal Indian policies which are now derelicts upon the sands of the reservation. Because of their culture Indians are extremely reluctant to focus attention on their problems through highly visual public displays. Arrayed as they invariably are against powerful political interests, without strong public support the Indians face impossible odds.

The taking of Alcatraz may begin a new era of Pan-Indian awareness and activity. That hard and lonely settlement has been greeted not with tear gas but with a sense of hope and promise. The band of Indians on the prison island have formed a policy for themselves and by themselves. They are staking a claim for the restoration of a culture and a strength of community that should not be lost. The wager they are asking the country to make is a safe one: that they cannot be more wrong than the great white fathers of the past.



Louis R. Bruce, Commissioner of Indian Affairs has announced a realignment of the central office of the Bureau. Seventeen of the nineteen top positions will be filled by Indians. Two new positions of Associate Commissioner are designed to expedite the supervision of programs. One of these posts is filled by Hall Cox, a Cree Indian. Mrs. Helen Peterson and Billy Mills (both Oglala Sioux) are new appointees as Assistant to the Commissioner.

AKWESASNE NOTES

A most informative publication has appeared this year. It is of newspaper format, 11½ by 18 inches, and 48 pages—AKWESASNE NOTES. Published as a service to Indians, it consists almost entirely of reproductions of newspaper clippings, from across the United States and Canada, magazine articles, excerpts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and the HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES.

There is no set subscription price, but the continuance of the paper is in jeopardy, depending upon income, so contributions are requested. To subscribe, write to: Jerry Gambill, Box 435, Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683. (\$6 would cover their costs of printing and mailing for a year.)



TAOS INDIANS NEED YOUR HELP

The long struggle of the Taos Pueblo Indians to regain title to their ancient tribal grounds has run into another bureaucratic road-block.

Although H.R. 471 has been approved by the House of Representatives for the second consecutive year, it is now threatened by a measure in the U. S. Senate entitled S. 750 which would set aside only 1,640 acres of that wilderness area for exclusive use of the Indians. H.R. 471, of course, provides that the entire 48,000-acre tract would remain forever wild and be used only by the Taos for their traditional religious ceremonies, hunting and fishing, as a source of water, forage for their domestic livestock, and whatever wood, timber and other natural resources they require subject to regulations prescribed for conservation purposes of the Secretary of the Interior.

All photographs by Theodore Hetzel

U. S. Senator Richard S. Schweiker already has written to Thomas V. O'Leary, East Coast Chairman of the National Committee for Restoration of the Blue Lake Lands to the Taos Indians. "... I appreciate knowing of your support for H.R. 471, and I will be glad to speak to members of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs regarding a favorable report on this legislation"

Although Senator Scott has received similar requests that he support H.R. 471 and oppose S. 750, he has not yet stated whether he will support H.R. 471 or S. 750. Senator Scott is very responsive to the wishes of his constituents, so all those interested in justice for the First Americans are urged to write to him, asking a firm commitment to fight for the provisions of H.R. 471 and to oppose the emasculation embodied in S. 750.

INDIAN SCHOLARS MEET AT PRINCETON

by Phil Parnell

The spirit of the American Indian took form as over 100 Indian scholars and students gathered on the Princeton campus for four days of strategic discussion concerning the future of the American Indian and his land.

The convocation, sponsored by the American Indian Historical Society and headed by Alfonso A. Ortiz, assistant professor of anthropology and a Tewa Indian, consisted of a number of speeches delivered by noted Indian scholars and writers and three afternoons of panel discussions.

Ortiz summarized the conference stating:

"On Monday morning we had purpose." (Rupert Costo, publisher of the Indian Historical Press and president of the American Indian Historical Society addressed the convocation that morning.)

"On Monday night we had soul." (Indian folk singer Buffy Sainte-Marie performed in concert for the convocation Monday evening and was followed by a round dance to traditional Indian music in Dillon Gym.)

"On Tuesday morning we had power." (Vine Deloria, Jr., a Standing Rock Sioux and former director of the National Congress of American Indians, outlined Tuesday morning a method to get legal suits on behalf of the Indians into court, thus demonstrating a way to power.)

"On Tuesday night the full moon over Princeton was wearing an eagle feather." (The convocation

marked the first time in over 200 years that more than three Indians have gathered on the Princeton campus.)

"On Wednesday morning we had majesty." (Scott Momaday, a Kiowa Indian, professor at UC in Berkeley and an author, addressed the convention that morning on language and tradition—the value of the Indian spiritual heritage.)

Concluding, Ortiz stated at the end of the convocation, "This morning we return to our problems."

The convocation was also marked by the passage of 22 resolutions representing three major propositions.

Ortiz stated the most important cluster of resolutions stressed the need for self determination for the Indian people as exemplified by local Indian control of schools in Indian communities.

Another group of resolutions stressed the need for Indians to reaffirm their tribal and spiritual heritage and identity. The reaffirmation needed was described as a conscious effort rather than a subconscious, fragmented one.

The final resolution cluster was addressed to foundations and governmental agencies, urging strongly that professional Indian evaluators and consultants be utilized for proposals concerning the American Indian.

The panel discussions covered topics ranging from Red Power to innovations in education, tribal government and native American arts.

"Modern America is at long last ready to listen to the practical wisdom of the Indian people," Ortiz said, "as well as share in our spiritual heritage."

NAVAJO SCHOOL BOARDS

The tribal council recently passed a resolution adopting guidelines for the operation of school boards in BIA schools on the Navajo reservation. This is an unprecedented step as it gives the Navajo people considerable control over the government operated schools. The Navajo Tribe, under the leadership of its Education Committee, was the first tribe to set up school boards in BIA schools. The most recent action defines the procedures under which those boards will operate, and gives the boards more authority.

"The Bureau's paternalism is long past," said Irvin J. Jones of the Navajo's Education Division. Jones, who is a Navajo, continued: "The Bureau is no longer making unilateral decisions. By involving the people in programs the Bureau is forced to make bi-lateral decisions."

During the past three years, school boards have been established in about 50 boarding and day schools on the reservation. Board members serve without compensation, but may be reimbursed for any expenses they incur while performing board functions. The new legislation stipulates that the various school boards will be formed under local chapters.

Bishop Lyman C. Ogilby, coordinator and treasurer of the legal defense of Thomas White Hawk, reports that \$18,600 has been collected toward the \$21,000 expenses of this cause. Further contributions are solicited; address P.O. Box 517, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, 57101.

FOUR HOLES INDIAN COMMUNITY WANTS A BETTER SCHOOL

Since their children were denied admission to the Ridgeville, S.C. elementary school, Indians of the Four Holes community, with the help of students from the University of South Carolina, have set up their own "Freedom School." Their spokesman made the following statement.

"My name is Gertie Creel. I am an Indian, and I am proud and I am somebody. I am going to stand up and fight for my rights like I am somebody, too. I'm not fighting for integration—I'm fighting for education. The white children in Dorchester County are getting good education, and mine are going to get it too. The tragedy of life is what dies inside a man while he lives. There are times when we need the courage to stand up and speak. There are even more times when the white people need the wisdom to sit down and listen. You know, you can make more friends in two months by becoming interested in other people than you can in two years by getting other people to be interested in you. The Indian people here have never had any control in their own affairs and now we are asking for what we rightfully should have: Indian power for Indian people in Indian affairs. The Indians want the right to control their own affairs, and they want the white man to stay out of their affairs and stop telling them what to do and what not to do."

Money, books and materials are requested by Mrs. Gertie Creel, Route 2, Box 140, Ridgeville, S.C. 29472.

ATTEMPT TO SEIZE ELLIS ISLAND

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

A leaky gas line on an 18-foot launch foiled an attempt by a group of militant Indians to land on Ellis Island before dawn yesterday morning and turn the abandoned reception center for immigrants into a symbol of the wrongs suffered by the country's first inhabitants.

The outboard motor on the launch—called the Go-Go—coughed a few times and then died after the boat was pushed off from the Jersey shore under cover of darkness at about 5:30 A.M. with eight men and a load of equipment. The island is only 400 yards from the Jersey City docks, where 30 more Indian men, women and children were standing by to make the crossing.

But a premature announcement of the landing that had not occurred produced a rash of radio news bulletins before repairs could be made on the boat, alerting the island's custodian, the National Park Service.

Though the Indians vowed to try again, the Coast Guard stationed two patrol craft near the island and proclaimed a "zone of security" around it under the Espionage Act of 1917. A Coast Guard spokesman warned that unauthorized intrusions into the zone could be punished by prison terms of up to 10 years.

John White Fox, a Shoshone Indian from Wyoming with braided black hair who was one of the first Indians to occupy Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay last November said on the way to Jersey

City that he hoped the taking of Ellis Island would unite the "Indian Power" movement on both coasts.

"It's time for my people to stand up, to live a little," he said with a confident smile.

At that hour there seemed little chance that the planned invasion could fail. The Park Service sends a watchman over from Liberty Island a few times a day, but just before dawn Ellis Island is 27½ acres of eerie, empty stillness.

The launch drifted out into the harbor in the general direction of the Statue of Liberty after the motor failed, and had to be retrieved with a rowboat. By that time day was breaking and the would-be invaders were becoming nervous about being discovered.

"There is no place for Indians to assemble and carry on tribal life here in this white man's city," declared a proclamation read by Mr. White Fox.

It promised that young Indians would be trained there to better the lot of their people and, also, to reverse the pollution of the water, air and land to which the continent has been exposed since the end of the era in which the Indians had it all to themselves.

"You guys are destroying this world and we want to save it," one of the young Indians told the newsmen.

However, the National Park Service has plans for Ellis Island that could be diametrically opposed to those of the Indians—turning it into a monument to the 16 million immigrants who entered the country there.

NATIVE RIGHTS IN CANADA, by the Indian-Eskimo Association, 277 Victoria St., Toronto 200, Ontario. 300 pages. 1970. \$10.

An almost unbroken series of setbacks in Canadian Courts on questions of hunting and other treaty rights suggests to the detached observer that in Court proceedings the defeat of the Indian and Eskimo cause is as inevitable as the legal bills. A consensus is growing that achievement of native rights is possible only on the political level.

The difficulty with the political level is that what the government offers will, to a large extent, be determined by what the government regards as the legal status of Indian and Eskimo claims. A pound of flesh will be paid only where the Indian can lay before the Crown its written promise to pay a pound of flesh. The government, says Mr. Trudeau, will honour "treaty rights" but not "aboriginal rights," and the Indian Claims Commissioner has been so instructed.

The solution proposed by the government is not acceptable but it demands a detailed and carefully researched rebuttal. The basic research for this rebuttal has now been published by the Indian-Eskimo Association under the title, **Native Rights in Canada**. Prepared by a research staff of three law professors, under the direction of Professor Douglas Sanders of the University of Windsor, and seven law students, the report draws together in one volume numerous proclamations, letters, reports and treaties, and proceeds to set these documents in their proper historical context. At the same time the authors evaluate in a useful and critical way the relevant writ-

ings of judges and jurists on the question of aboriginal and treaty rights commencing with the theologian Vittoria in 1532 (who, when asked by the Spanish King, gave it as his opinion that the Spanish acquisition of the New World was unlawful) to the Nishga Tribal Council case presently under appeal in British Columbia.

Native Rights in Canada provides much useful ammunition for use against the present policy of the government. The policy to honour treaty rights while disregarding "aboriginal rights" ignores the fact that there are no treaties at all covering vast areas of Canada, and in respect of the unsundered lands "aboriginal rights" necessarily remain to be considered. The report documents the location of these unsundered lands in Southern Ontario, principally the eastern part of the north shore of Lake Ontario and the whole of the north shore of the St. Lawrence River, a tract of real estate which today is of enormous value, and other lands in the Maritime Provinces and Northern Quebec.

The Quebec Boundaries Extension Act passed in 1912 acknowledges that treaties must be entered into by the Crown with the Indian people, but no such treaties have ever been negotiated.

In these cases the legal problems facing the native people may be similar to those facing the Indian and Eskimo tribes of Alaska who have put in dispute the ownership of Alaska, advancing their claim on the ground that the United States never acquired their lands, as such but merely purchased the right to tax and to govern the territory from Russia in 1867.

While the precise content of the

"aboriginal rights" which survive in these areas is open to argument, the Report sets out the alternatives, and provides such policy-making bodies as the National Indian Brotherhood and the Canadian Metis Society with a solid legal basis upon which to negotiate, or to consider the feasibility of any proposed lawsuit.

The Report also catalogues some of the areas where the Crown, having entered into treaties, is clearly in default and indicates instances where legal action has a good chance of success. The Supreme Court of Canada has on several occasions held that the Crown breached the Indian treaties in enacting the Migratory Birds Convention Act, and although W. G. Morrow, Q.C., started an action for compensation for the Indians and Eskimos before he became Mr. Justice Morrow of the Territorial Court, the action has not been proceeded with. The Fisheries Act may give rise to similar claims for compensation.

Under the obligations imposed on the Crown by Treaties 8 and 11 in the Northwest Territories about 567,000 acres of land were to be set aside for the Indians, but the government has not yet seen fit to fulfill this commitment, although

the obligation has been specifically acknowledged as recently as 1959.

In Manitoba the Metis are owed 550,000 acres of land under the terms of the Manitoba Act, but this statutory obligation has been ignored by the government of Canada to date.

After reading the Report one is tempted to think that the series of defeats suffered in the Courts by Indians and Eskimos over treaty rights may at least in part be attributable to poor tactics, in other words, raising the wrong issue in the wrong way at the wrong time and, on occasion, in the wrong Court.

The authors of the Report recognize the limitations on their role, and have not trespassed on the policy-making function of the native organizations, but they have prepared an impressive legal brief which can and ought to be considered by native organizations before they arrive at policy decisions.

Mohawk Indians of the St. Regis (Akwasasne) Reservation occupy Loon Island, near Lancaster, Ontario. This land had been recognized as being the property of an Indian family, until the white owner of adjacent mainland property built a causeway and claimed the land not to be an island, but part of his property.

The Canadian Department of Indian Affairs cancelled the Indian's assignment, leaving the white man in possession.

Now that the lease on nearby Stanley Island has expired, the Indians have launched a campaign by occupation and legal action to repossess these Islands.



BOOK REVIEWS—

The DEATH AND REBIRTH OF THE SENECA, by Anthony F. C. Wallace. Knopf. 384 Pages. 1970. \$8.95.

PARKER ON THE IROQUOIS, edited by William N. Fenton. Syracuse University Press. 425 pages. 1968. \$8.95.

The subtitle of Wallace's book is "The history and culture of the great Iroquois Nation, their destruction and demoralization, and their cultural revival at the hands of the Indian visionary, Handsome Lake."

A brief introduction describes the Handsome Lake religion today, the "doings" in the Longhouse, and some of the present life of the Senecas. One paragraph gives a sketchy idea of the contents of the **Gaiwiiio**, the Code of Handsome Lake.

The book is divided into three parts. The Heyday of the Iroquois—their aboriginal culture and the Five Nations of the Iroquois established by Dekanawidah and Hiawatha; The Decline of the Iroquois—wars and political collapse from 1740 to 1800; Renaissance—1800 to 1850. One final page jumps the account from 1850 to the present.

It is regrettable that Wallace did not deal with the establishment of the Seneca Nation of Indians, and the history of the past century, the seizure of Salamanca and ten other "Congressional Villages", and the condemnation of land flooded by the "Lake of Perfidy" formed from the Allegheny River by the Kinzua Dam, all of which constitute more modern episodes of destruction and revival of Seneca Indians.

PARKER ON THE IROQUOIS combines three books which previously were out of print: "IROQUOIS USES OF MAIZE AND OTHER FOOD PLANTS" (1910); **THE CODE OF HANDSOME LAKE, THE SENECA PROPHET**" (1913); and **THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FIVE NATIONS**". These supplement Wallace's historical study by giving details of the life and government of the Iroquois, and especially of the religion of the Longhouse, based on the Code of Handsome Lake. Valuable additional material on the religion of the Longhouse is contained in Wallace's "RELIGION: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW" (Random House).

TBH

THE UNJUST SOCIETY, The Tragedy of Canada's Indians, by Harold Cardinal. M. G. Hurtig, Ltd. 10411 Jasper Ave., Edmonton, Alberta. 171 pages 1969. \$2.75 paperback.

THE UNJUST SOCIETY does for Canadian Indians about what **OUR BROTHER'S KEEPER**, or what **CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS** does for Indians of the United States. There are specifics peculiar to Canada: the treaties, the Indian Act, the Metis, the whites who are legally Indian, the full-bloods who are legally non-Indian. But much of the book pertains to both sides of the border: the attitudes toward Indians (the only good Indian is a non-Indian), education (no consultation and no involvement with Indians), missionaries (who acted out of the best of motives but brought about the worst results), bureaucratic ignorance and arro-

gance, and denial of aboriginal rights to land ownership.

The white man rarely says or does anything that does not sound rude or even hostile to Indians. "The white, imbued with a sense of righteousness in 'helping the downtrodden and backward', does not realize the nature of his conduct, and the Indian cannot tell him, for that would be interference with the white man's freedom to act as he sees fit."

What can friendly whites do to help Indians? Provide money. Improve legislation. Improve mutual relations and understanding between the races and cultures. Which is what the Indian Rights Association attempts to do. TBH

I.R.A. ANNUAL MEETING

The Indian Rights Association's eighty-seventh meeting for business was held on May 27 at which time the actions of the directors and officers were approved; members of the board of directors were nominated and elected; Mrs. Roy Fricken, Director of Development, reported; and Theodore Hetzel projected slides, mostly portraits of prominent Indians, and described the principal circumstances of the Indian groups represented.

The office has been deluged recently with inquiries arising largely from the advertisement in *TIME* in January, which showed a large picture of the Indian nickel with the caption "The only Indian America ever cared for."



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At the subsequent meeting of the board of directors the officers were elected. Leo T. Connor, Esq. stepped down after four years as president, and Thomas Wistar, Jr. was elected to take his place. Mr. Wistar continues a long tradition of family interest and involvement with Indians. An ancestor of the same name served Indians from 1838 until his death in 1876. Mr. Connor's services have been effective and invaluable, but the burden of this responsibility has been excessive recently. We thank him for his leadership, and are glad that he will continue to serve on the board of directors.



The Indian Rights Association is non-sectarian, non-partisan and is supported by the voluntary contributions of members and friends. It will continue to voice the conscience of America in the protection of American Indians and their manifest rights.

In addition to our historic mission of bringing accurate, unbiased information to the attention of the public and Government agencies, the Association uses funds it has raised for special projects and emergencies while alerting the Government to action.



Project Head Start serves over 7000 Indian children, providing learning experiences in preparation for regular school, nutritious meals, medical, social and psychological services. It encourages the parents to take an active interest in BIA and public school, and it provides training and employment for ad-

ministrators and teachers. Funds for the program are provided by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to Tribal Councils for some 59 Indian communities. The demand exists for a 50% expansion, which will have to wait until federal policy permits increased appropriations.



Contributions and bequests should be made payable to the
INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION
 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

Enclosed is my annual membership contribution:

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\$100 Donor	\$500 LIFE

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INDIAN TRUTH

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PROTECT INDIAN RIGHTS

Alvin M. Josephy, Jr.

The President's Message to the Congress on Indian Affairs set an historic tone for a new positive era in Federal-Indian relations. For the first time, a Chief Executive of the nation declared that the Indian Peoples *will* have self-determination like all other Americans.

But the Message has to be proven. Administration persuasiveness and leadership are essential to get the legislation that accompanied the Message enacted into law. Administration commitment is required to implement the Message, to ensure that history and the Indians will never characterize it as more unfulfilled promises.

Respect Indian Heritage

Congress has a long tradition of conviction that the only successful

future for the Indians is in their assimilation into the White man's culture. Like the Executive Branch of the government, Congress must now learn that no people can be pushed, pulled, or forced into assimilation, and that such a policy must fail because it demoralizes and immobilizes people. Instead, Congress must respect the independent nature of the Indian peoples, their pride in their own heritage and cultures, and their determination to make up their own minds on how, when, and if they wish to "assimilate."

This is the true, the best, the only course for successful Federal-Indian relations and for Indian development. But the Indians must continue to have the protections guaranteed them

(Continued on page 3)

A CALL TO ACTION

Thomas Wistar, Jr.

Will 1971 be the year when the American Indian comes into his own? The answer may depend to a large extent upon what you and I do about it.

Recent events have set the stage for a real breakthrough this year toward a "new and balanced relationship between the United States Government and the first Americans". Not since the white man drove the Indian from his lands into corrals of subjugation has there been a brighter

promise for his future.

Let me tell you, very briefly, about these developments of such vital importance to Indians. On July 8, 1970 President Nixon sent a message to the Congress in which he recommended that an entirely new national policy be adopted by the Federal government toward the Indian people. This policy, formulated after extensive consultation with Indian leaders, rejects the previously held goal of

(Continued on page 2)

The Indian Rights Association,
1505 Race St., Phila., Pa. 19102

FOUNDED 1882

THOMAS WISTAR, JR., *President*

CHARLES E. PANCOAST, 3D, *Treasurer*

JONATHAN M. STEERE, *Vice-President*

LAWRENCE E. LINDLEY, *Gen. Secy. Emeritus*

THEODORE B. HEITZEL, *Executive Director*
and *Editor of INDIAN TRUTH*

FREDERICA FRICKEN, *Assistant Editor*

by our government. But this legislation, favoring as it does a minority people, will not be passed by Congress over the opposition of entrenched majority interests unless you and I and all who care about the people will rally to their side at this time. I hope many of our members and others who read this call to action will write their Senators urging them to vote for these bills (S. 4114-15-16 and S. 4163-64, -65, -66.), and tell others to write.

A CALL TO ACTION—

terminating Federal protection as soon as possible over Indian reservations. Instead, it offers them the opportunity of self-determination and places in their own hands the control of Federal-financed programs.

Following the President's message, legislation was introduced in the Senate to implement his recommendations. The most important of the series of seven bills about to be considered by the 92nd Congress are those which would create a new office of Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian and Territorial Affairs, which would create an Indian Trust Council Authority within the President's office to defend Indians from the federal, state or private actions threatening their natural resources, and which would provide for the assumption of the control and operation by Indian tribes and committees of programs and services provided by the Federal government.

This legislation, if enacted into law, would go a long way toward redressing the wrongs that have been inflicted on Indian people in the past



Thomas Wistar, Jr.

President Wistar's concern for the Indian is inherited from his Wistar forebears. His father was a Director of The Indian Rights Association and Treasurer of The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs. His grandfather was one of the incorporators and a director of The Association and the chairman of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs. His great-great grandfather was the head of the Philadelphia Friends Indian Committee, one of the founders of The Associated Committee on Indian Affairs, and twice appointed by the President of the United States a Peace Commissioner to settle Indian Wars. His great-great-grandfather in 1795 became the first head of the Philadelphia Friends Indian Committee.

PROTECT INDIAN RIGHTS—

by Federal treaties made when they lost their sovereignty, ancient freedoms, accustomed means of livelihood, and homelands. For this reason, it is urgent that they have appropriate counsel with which to protect themselves against the modern-day pressures that threaten their limited remaining resources — without which their entity as tribes and Indians would be imperiled.

Indian Trust Council A Must

Thus, the highest priority should be accorded the President's proposal for an Indian Trust Council Authority. As I reported in my study for the President on February 11, 1969, there is a serious conflict of interest within the Department of the Interior that has victimized the Indians. Because of increasing conflicts over land, water, and other natural resources which will be brought about by a growing population and expanding national needs, the position of the Indians within the Department will become worse unless they have an independent counsel to help them defend what is theirs.

The Department's handling of its conflict of interest over Pyramid Lake in Nevada is a case in point. Dependent almost entirely on water from the Truckee River, Pyramid Lake, the principal means of support for its owners, the Pyramid Lake Paiutes, is declining because a dam, built by Interior's Reclamation Bureau, has been diverting a large share of the Truckee's flow to an irrigation project established by the Bureau of Reclamation. Despite acknowledgment by other Interior agencies that



Alvin M. Josephy, Jr.

the lake is valuable to the whole nation as a recreation and scenic asset, and that it is essential to its Indian owners for subsistence and as a recreation asset for the tribe's economic development and future existence, the Department has failed to protect the Indians' interest, even though it is charged by law to do so.

Unless an independent Indian Trust Council Authority is created to give the Indians proper representation, the Paiutes' Lake and their very survival as an Indian people is in question.

A primary goal of the Administration's new policies, therefore, should be to satisfy all Indians that their rights *will* be upheld and protected. There are other tribes caught in the same conflict of interests within

the Department of the Interior (and the Department of Justice) as the Paiutes. The establishment of an Indian Trust Council Authority, as envisioned by President Nixon, is needed, and its need will become more urgent as the months go on.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is a second matter requiring prompt attention. If self-determination is really to be achieved by the tribes, then the Bureau must be totally and genuinely reorganized, according to Indian wishes, to allow it to happen. Decision-making must occur on the reservation level. The tribes, with whatever federal technical, specialist, or management help they individually ask for, must have the power to decide for themselves about their own affairs. At present, the Bureau is still structured so as to impede and interfere with Indian self-determination. There has been some reorganization pointing in the proper direction, but it is tentative and slow and has the character of wary spoon-feeding from above. The reorganization must be done with a whole-hearted dedication to the goal of Indian self-determination.

Indians Are Ready

The Indians are competent. They must be unfettered from paternalistic government and given the right to run their own affairs while continuing to receive the federal protections to which they are entitled. Congress too must recognize the Indian peoples' ability to determine their own destiny. Developments of, by, and for Indians is over-late. Congress must respond to the Indians' demands now.

ASSOCIATION NEWS

In this last year our membership has increased by 64%.

Since October, 1970 we have had approximately 2000 mail requests for information regarding American Indians. These inquiries have come from teachers, students, interested individuals, and a number from residents of foreign countries. Telephone inquiries average 125 a month and personal visits 25.

2400 Indian Rights pamphlets "Why Indians Need Our Cooperation" and 1,000 Reservation Maps have been distributed since October.

Board and staff members have given a number of talks to interested organizations.

Our first visitor in 1971 was the acting head of the Indian Health Service, Lou Parris, from Washington. He outlined the proposed allocation of the new 1971 appropriations sponsored by President Nixon.

WASHOE RESERVATION ESTABLISHED IN CALIF.

PL 91-362 sets aside 80 acres of public domain near Woodfords, Calif. in trust for Washoe Indians. They had been squatters and in great need of better housing. Now, with a land base, they are eligible for assistance to improve their housing and to obtain other benefits. This is a further indication that H. Con. Res. 108 and its policy of termination has been discredited. However, much harm done in accordance with that policy has not been corrected, as in the case of the Table Bluff Rancheria, which was terminated without first conforming to all the provisions of PL 85-671.

PENN STATE TRAINS INDIAN SCHOOL HEADS

A program of training administrators for Indian schools, which was started last summer, is now in an internship phase and will be completed in the summer of 1971 when the 18 adult students return to the Penn State campus. The students, who belong to ten different tribes, work mostly in schools for Navajos, since most of the pupils in federal schools are Navajos.

Dr. Patrick Lynch, professor in the College of Education's Division of Education Policy Studies, is the Director of the Indian training program. Traditionally, he said, the educational process in American Indian schools has been a way of "civilizing" Indians, and was used as a kind of shock therapy to separate Indians from their cultural background. Today, however, this policy is recognized as depriving both Indians and the rest of society of the values offered by Indian subcultures.

Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs has administered schools for Indian children for some 100 years, Dr. Lynch said it is only recently that Indians have been employed as professionals in these schools.

Participants at Penn State, who were chosen for their active involvement and commitment to Indian people and Indian problems, as well as for their academic qualifications, will receive the degree of Master of Education upon completing the program and will be qualified for positions as principals or supervisors.



ROBERT E. DREW

Robert E. Drew is leaving the post of Chief of the Office of Tribal Affairs, United States Indian Health Service, which he has held for the past five years, to be Project Director, Comprehensive Health Component, for the Red Lake Chippewa Reservation in Minnesota.

The new program involves tribal self-help and work with families and communities in their health programs.

Mr. Drew, a Creek, received his education in the Eufaula, Oklahoma schools, Bacone College, Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma, and later received his MS at Oklahoma State University. As an Army veteran of World War II he holds the Silver Star and Purple Heart awards.

The Indian Rights Association extends to Robert Drew its best wishes to him in his new project and warm personal thanks for his many services to the Association in the past.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

In the past year your Executive Director has been to 25 Indian communities in Kansas, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, New York and Canada, attended conferences in Estes Park and in Washington D.C., visited the two pioneering Navajo schools at Rough Rock and Ramah, and the Navajo Community College at Many Farms, all three of which are distinguished by having school boards composed of Indians. I was able to meet with local officials at nearly all of these places. It was a memorable time at Taos Pueblo when they expressed with joy their thanks to President Nixon for his support in their long struggle to regain their sacred land around Blue Lake (a struggle finally won by action of the

Senate and the signing of the bill by Nixon on 15 December). Celebrations such as this at Taos, and dances subsequently at Santa Ana in New Mexico, and at Allegany Seneca and at Onondaga in New York, provided good opportunities to meet and talk with people who are at other times scattered and hard to find.

It was encouraging to see the people of Zuni managing their own affairs instead of having them administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and also to visit their industrial park and a factory making components for electronic apparatus. A sensitive manager has accommodated his organization to Indian culture. Leadership is not forced on the most able workers, but in keeping with



Taos Indians rejoice at the prospect of regaining Blue Lake.

their ways, responsibility is delegated by the choice of fellow workers, and is thus accepted but not sought. They work Saturdays and overtime in order to shut down when there are important ceremonials.

There has been much activity among the Southern Utes under the leadership of

Leonard Burch: a new housing development, a cottage industry project, timber, coal and natural gas production, and imaginative plans for a multi-million



dollar project to promote tourism, hunting, skiing, a motel and museum, and an industrial park. In recent years Indians have invited industry to come to the reservations to take advantage of tax benefits, cheap labor and resources. The trend now is to develop their own enterprise as much as possible with their own or borrowed money, and keep the control and profits at home.

The visits to Indian communities and schools, and attendance at conferences help us keep in touch with Indians, and provide information enabling me to present information about Indians and their thinking in five television and two radio programs, and some 35 talks to school, college, church and civic groups. However, there are many other places that should be visited: Alaska, Alcatraz, Pyramid Lake, Pit River, to name but a few of the most prominent places with current problems. The opportunities to help with funds for legal assistance, and to encourage

with information and concern far exceed our finances and manpower. However, I find widespread interest in INDIAN TRUTH, and there are many occasions when we help promote Indian interests in Washington and by informing the general public.

Theodore Hetzel

LEGAL DEFENSE FUND FOR INDIANS PROPOSED

Americans for Indian Opportunity under the leadership of LaDonna Harris, wife of Senator Fred R. Harris, is advocating the formation of a Native American Legal Defense Fund.

The objectives of the Fund are: to provide expert legal assistance in legislation, litigation and social policy to individual Indians, Tribes, and Indian people generally; to educate Indian citizens concerning their legal rights at local, states and federal levels; to monitor policies and practices of federal and state agencies in all matters concerning Indian citizens.

The need for a thorough examination of the administration of laws governing Indian people is becoming imperative since they are a special class of citizens governed by thousands of treaties, regulations and laws not applicable to non-Indian citizens.

Because of this multiplicity of laws which obtain in all phases of his life, it is of importance that the Indian himself has a thorough understanding of his rights and privileges.

The causes of inequalities in education, employment opportunities and social status may be substantially understood and solved if this broad program is instituted.

INDIAN WOMEN

The first National Association of Indian Women was formed in August at the National Seminar for American Indian Women at Colorado State University.

The Seminar was sponsored and financed by the Country Women's Council of USA and the Associated Country Women of the World.

Sixty-eight Indian women delegates, representing 43 tribes attended the seminar whose theme was "Indian Women Prepare for the 70's." The program was concerned with education for their children, employment for Indians, Indian youth and lack of recreational facilities for them, and the preservation of their traditions and cultures, while learning to live in the present day world.

The key note speaker, Congressman Ben Reifel, whose mother was a Sioux, said that "women must help the children learn what kind of world they face and how to deal with the environment."

The new organization "The North American Indian Women's Association" elected Mrs. James M. Cox, Comanche, as president. Other officers and directors elected were from tribes represented at the seminar. The aims of the new organization were the betterment of home, family life and community, of health and education, and providing inter-tribal communications and fellowship.

ST. LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY HONORS ERNEST BENEDICT

For more than 30 years since his graduation from St. Lawrence Ernest M. Benedict has championed the cause of Indian rights and worked to improve the status of his people. Although an opponent of conscripting Indians into the armed forces, he enlisted in the United States Army during World War II and served with distinction in the Pacific Theater.



For many years he published the St. Regis Reservation newsletter to assist his fellow Indians in understanding federal legislation affecting their welfare. His most important contribution to his own people, both in the United States and Canada, was the establishment in 1967 of the North American Indian Traveling College to bring programs in basic education, trade skills, Indian culture, folklore and self-government to reservations.

St. Lawrence has greatly profited from his interest in improving the educational opportunities for his people. Through his assistance and encouragement the St. Lawrence tutorial program on the St. Regis Reservation was initiated. His support, and that of other Mohawk leaders, has been indispensable to the program's early success.

St. Lawrence University is proud to recognize the achievements of this distinguished native American and outstanding alumnus. Canton, N.Y. 26 September 1970.

PHOTO CREDITS:
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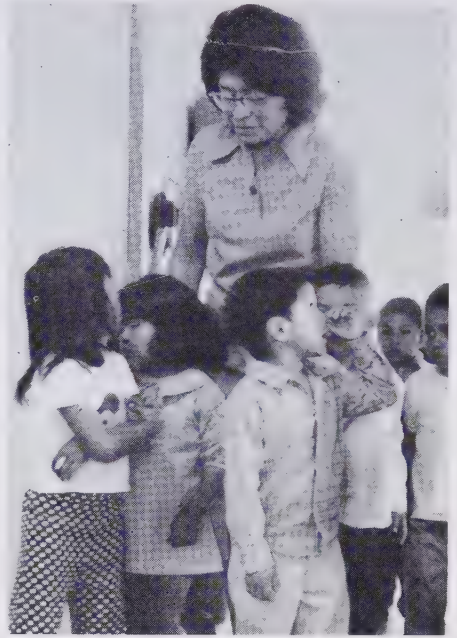
EDUCATION NOTE

To assist Indian People in obtaining a marketable skill and employment using that skill, the BIA has a program of vocational training which has been refunded for 1970. Apply to your regional office of the headquarters office: William J. Benham, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1951 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20242.

Scholarship grants for tuition fees and miscellaneous expenses are available to assist students in pursuing regular college courses necessary for a college degree. Write to area office of the BIA or to the headquarters: Ralph R. Reeser, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1951 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20242.

FORT YUKON COMMUNITY FACILITY

The City of Fort Yukon, Alaska, with the support of all agencies which serve the city, has been building an educational, recreational, and community serving building which they hope will be dedicated in the spring of 1971. They are asking for contributions of money and supplies to equip the building which is to include a kitchen, laundromat, showers, public health and dental clinic, conference and office rooms, in addition to the library and the main multi-purpose room, the only such general meeting place in Ft. Yukon. Contributions (which are deductible) can be sent to: City of Fort Yukon, Community Facility Fund, P.O. Box 40, Fort Yukon, Alaska 99740.

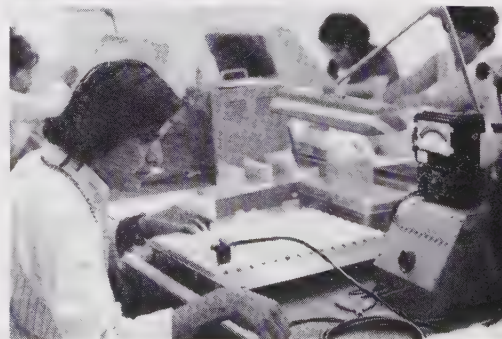


Project Head Start provides experience and income for adults, as well as schooling for children, in Indian communities.



Franklin Ducheneaux, Jr. was elected Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians at the recent annual convention in Anchorage.

Mr. Ducheneaux was formerly the Acting Legislative Relations Officer of the B.I.A.



Workers in the AmiZuni plant at Zuni Industrial Park. The Simpson meter at the right was made on the Chippewa reservation at Lac du Flambeau, Wis.

INDUSTRIAL PARKS IN INDIAN AREAS

INDUSTRIAL PARKS IN INDIAN AREAS, A GUIDE FOR BUSINESSMEN, by Arrow, Inc., 1346 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C. 20036. 1970. 58 pp. This booklet should be of great help to industry looking for advantageous plant sites, and to Indians seeking information about what other groups have done to bring economic activity to their communities. Described in detail, with maps and illustrations, are some 37 existing industrial parks in 15 states, plus some 20 more planned or under development. Information is given about financial arrangements, climate, resources, transportation, utilities, labor force, community facilities and description. Arrow welcomes inquiries.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY

The NCIO has been conducting conferences in Duluth, Anchorage, Fairbanks, Rapid City, Spokane, Las Vegas, Albuquerque, Oklahoma City,

and Hollywood, Florida, chaired by the Indian members of the Council, to consult with local Indians to improve the use and coordination of Federal programs for Indians. They are promoting legislation, which has been drafted based on President Nixon's message of 8 July 1970, for a \$50,000,000 revolving loan fund, to raise the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the level of Assistant Secretary of the Interior, to guard against livestock trespass on trust land, to regulate traders on reservations, to improve Indian health services, to provide legal

protection for resources of Indians and Alaskan Natives, to transfer the administration of some programs from the Federal government to Indian tribes and communities, and to retain Federal benefits for employees who transfer from governmental to tribal service. John C. Rainer, of Taos Pueblo and Vice-President of the National Congress of American Indians has been chosen "Chief Member" of the NCIO. His photograph is shown above.



MUTT AND JEFF



BOOK REVIEWS:

GUESTS NEVER LEAVE HUNGRY, THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JAMES SEWID, A KWAKIUTL INDIAN. Yale University Press. 1969, 310 pp. \$10.

HOW A PEOPLE DIE, A DOCUMENTARY NOVEL ABOUT THE TRAGEDY OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN, by Alan Fry. Doubleday. 1970, 167 pp. \$4.95.

Both of these books should be read to obtain a balanced insight into the life of the Indians of the Pacific coast of British Columbia. The autobiography is the story of an able man of distinguished heritage who made a success in two worlds, the Indian and the White. The novel is about the life of Indians of the same area and culture who failed in both worlds. Scholars will find source material in the autobiography and value it more highly, but general readers and social workers interested in contemporary Indians may learn more from the novel.

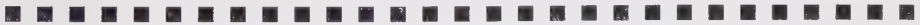
TBH

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES by Edward H. Spicer, 320 pages (paper back). Van Nostrand Reinhold Company. \$2.95.

EDWARD H. SPICER is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Arizona.

This "Short History of Indians" covers the period from the earliest explorations to the present. Professor Spicer writes from a unique thesis. The usual history of Indians in the United States is presented as almost solely the adjustment of Indians to the dominant White society. That there are other important influences is emphasized by the frequent failure of White policies to achieve the expected results. Dr. Spicer holds that relations between Indian individuals within their communities as well as contacts among Indian nations have been and are of great influence in shaping Indian life.

Professor Spicer sets forth as a



The Indian Rights Association is a non-sectarian, non-partisan organization supported by the contributions of its members and friends. It strives to keep acquainted with American Indians and informed about their problems and desires, so as to assist them as best we can, and to inform our members and the public generally about contemporary Indians.

Since 1882 we have helped Indians defend the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution, by statutes and treaties, we have helped them obtain the full rights and privileges of citizenship, and also the right to manage their own affairs and to maintain their unique identity. We wish Indian communities to be able to survive in accord with their own desires, and individuals to be prepared to live either in Indian communities or in the "mainstream", as they may desire.

The Indian Rights Association keeps in touch with governmental Indian affairs and cooperates with other agencies which are concerned about Indians. It publishes a periodical, "Indian Truth" containing news, articles and book reviews about current affairs.

principal point in Indian history the fact of the continuing existence of Indian societies of even longer standing than those of the invaders, a fact to be emphasized in the United States because of the prevailing illusion that Indian societies are vanishing. He counters this by showing how the Indian societies still continue to adjust and to maintain their place as a distinct cultural group making

their impact on the Nation as a whole. The adaptations made by the Five Civilized Tribes, the Navajos, the Iroquois and many other groups are cited as examples.

Professor Spicer has presented his thesis convincingly. There is a good bibliography. The series of 51 documents covering 160 pages is more than worth the price of the book.

Lawrence E. Lindley



Hughes, Alaska. Title to the land occupied by the houses of the village, or even a few thousand acres, would be completely inadequate for the hunting economy subsistence of these people. Other than hunting, fishing and trapping there is little local activity to sustain them. Able-bodied men must leave home for long periods of time to find work—if they can find work—or live on welfare.



Contributions and bequests should be made payable to the

INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION

1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

Enclosed is my annual membership contribution:

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INDIAN TRUTH

Vol. 48 No. 2

The Indian Rights Association

April 1971

Diversity: The Medicine for Human Survival

Walter Taylor

From the book Uncommon Controversy: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup and Nisqually Indians, A Report Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. Copyright 1970 by the University of Washington Press. Walter Taylor was National Indian Program Representative for the American Friends Service Committee, and then Representative to the Seneca Nation of Indians for Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends between 1960 and 1966.

SALMON could become extinct during our century. Even American Indians might finally "vanish" after all within a generation or two — quite literally — along with the rest of mankind. To be or to cease being — that is the critical question looming over the human race during the final third of the twentieth century. This book of "an uncommon controversy" over the fishing rights of three small Indian tribes near Seattle, Washington, in the United States, deals with questions of survival for salmon and for men everywhere.

"It is often assumed," writes René Dubos, professor of microbiology and experimental pathology at Rockefeller University, New York, "that progress depends on man's ability to *conquer* Nature. In reality, there exist throughout mankind biological and emotional needs that require not conquest of Nature, but rather harmonious collaboration with its forces." Unless the most powerful and affluent society in history soon moves away from further conquest of nature toward harmonious collaboration with her, experts predict that within twenty years the global atmosphere will start becoming unbreathable for

Indians and non-Indians alike, and all other living creatures; salmon and other life in the rivers and lakes will begin to disappear; and plants will be dying of poison. That warning emerged from the intergovernmental conference of experts on the scientific basis for rational use and conservation of the resources of the biosphere, a conference called by UNESCO in Paris in September 1968.

Man is destroying his own nest — the biosphere — that thin layer at the earth's surface where the interaction of land, water, and air makes life possible. There is no substance to any dreams that modern scientific man could find refuge on another planet or move into the ocean depths if the biosphere should become uninhabitable. We have no other nest. Man's "progress" seems to be going backward toward destruction of the environment upon which he must depend for survival.

While the world's population is growing explosively and higher individual standards of living demand ever more raw materials and heavier industrial production, the world's renewable resources are steadily decreasing. The waste products of

The Indian Rights Association,
1505 Race St., Phila., Pa. 19102

FOUNDED 1882

THOMAS WISTAR, JR., *President*

JONATHAN M. STEERE, *Vice-President*

CHARLES E. PANCOAST, 3D, *Treasurer*

LAWRENCE E. LINDLEY, *Gen. Secy. Emeritus*

THEODORE B. HETZEL, *Executive Director*
and *Editor of INDIAN TRUTH*

growth and technical development are accumulating faster than we can dispose of them safely. All kinds of pollutants threaten our mental health and our physical existence, including radiation, detergents, pesticides, heat, and noise. We now have at our command more power and larger tools than ever before with which to mine, pave, or defoliate the earth, to consume oxygen from the air, and to pollute the water.

The intrusion of urban life and industry upon the biological balance of waters has already been noted with alarm by scientists. There are many instances. In spite of a relatively low human population in the state of Maine, the rivers there are so polluted that most of them can no longer support a run of salmon. About seventy years ago fifty species of fish lived in the lower part of the river Seine, but now only a few diseased eels can be found there. Thousands of lakes in Finland are now completely polluted. Lake Zurich in Switzerland is "biologically dead," all its fish and other forms of life exterminated by pollution. Even the Great Lakes in the United States, the largest inland

lakes in the world, are seriously threatened.

Against this background of worldwide damage to fish and to the rest of our biosphere, the "uncommon controversy" over the depletion of salmon in the Pacific Northwest takes on extraordinary significance. This book indicates that the Indian fishermen have been made scapegoats and are not the cause of salmon depletion. If out of the controversy a sounder understanding of the true relationship between the Indians and the salmon could emerge, it could lead us not only toward a cooperative program to rehabilitate the fish in western Washington, but far beyond that toward some constructive approaches to global problems of human interaction, environmental protection, and human survival.

The common error which links this controversy to the question of man's survival on the planet is the persistent tendency of Western civilization to impose its values, its religion, its law, its education, and its technology on other cultures, whether they fit or not.

The ugly history of destruction of Indian people by arrogant, acquisitive non-Indian intruders has now been well told by many writers. It should be more widely and honestly presented in our schools. However, without ignoring the significance of massacres, land thefts, buffalo slaughter, death marches, humiliation, and broken treaties, our purpose here is to emphasize the more benevolent imposition, the killing by kindness. "If I knew for a certainty that a man was coming to my house

Continued on Page 8

INDIAN RIGHTS DENIED IN COLORADO

In 1910 the federal government gave Ft. Lewis to the state of Colorado to establish an A & M school (now transformed into degree-granting Ft. Lewis College) with the stipulation that Indians be admitted "free of charge for tuition and on terms of equality with white pupils." Colorado is supposed to return Ft. Lewis land to the federal government if it ends free tuition for Indians.

Now that many Indians are ap-

plying for a college education, the state has legislated a budget that allows for 210 Indian students, though 250 applied. Some have been turned down, others charged tuition.

The Indian Rights Association has asked the Attorney General of Colorado to explain the state's position, and has requested BIA Commissioner Louis R. Bruce to verify the facts and to exercise the powers of his office to remedy the situation.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION PRO AND CON INDIANS

Bills drafted in the Department of the Interior are now under consideration. Indians have expressed their general approval in principle, suggesting some amendments and some preference for simpler, more understandable language. These are in line with the good intentions expressed by President Nixon in his Indian message of July 1970 and endorsed by his National Council on Indian Opportunity. It remains to be seen how much support the White House will give this legislation generally favorable to Indians.

HR 2376 would channel Johnson-O'Malley federal funds for education directly to Indian communities, so that this money would actually benefit Indians. HR 2377 would permit Indian communities to assume control of Federal Services to them. HR 2378 is to provide financing for Indian organizations. HR 2379 would improve the protection of Indian and trust land from trespass by unbranded livestock, and give Indians more control over traders doing

business on their reservations. HR 2380 would provide legal counsel for the protection of Indian land and resources, independent of other federal agencies. HR 2381 would create a position of Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian and Territorial Affairs (thus making the BIA independent of the Bureau of Land Management).

Other legislation intended to benefit Indians: HR 5068 to provide money for the construction and operation of the Navajo Community College (which must vacate the Many Farms school building that it is now temporarily occupying); and HCR 95 which repeals HCR 108 and the termination policy of the Eisenhower Administration.

Legislation that would be very harmful to Pyramid Lake Indians is now before the Judiciary Committee, to ratify a California-Nevada compact which would cut off water in the Truckee River flowing into Pyramid Lake. This would be catastrophic to Indians and to the ecology.

New Goals in Education

Susan Boyer

"The National Study of American Indian Education," a three-year, half-million-dollar project, commissioned by the Office of Education, urged last month in a summary report that authority and control of education for Indian children be placed increasingly into the hands of Indians. The study, which surveyed thirty-nine public, private, and Bureau of Indian Affairs school systems in fourteen states, said the ultimate goal for Indian education should be to increase the ability of students to move comfortably between two social orders — the Indian tribe and the larger society — while maintaining respect for Indian culture.

The report cited a communication from John Woodenlegs, former tribal chairman of the Northern Cheyenne, who said: "We feel our children need education that gives the best of both cultures. We feel that many of the values of our past Cheyenne society can still serve us well in this modern world. We feel we need this to give us understanding and pride in our past, just as other Americans wish to learn their history for the same reason."

To achieve these goals, the study recommended a revised curriculum, incorporating Indian arts, history, and culture, not only in predominantly Indian schools, but in all public schools, to ease the negative Indian stereotype and to improve understanding of the contemporary social, economic, and political issues affecting Indian people.

In Indian high schools, there should be special job counseling, making in-

formation about career and vocational opportunities, together with financial assistance programs, readily available to Indian students.

The local community should be directly involved with the education process, through an increase in the number of Indians elected to school boards, and more activity by tribal education committees in public and federal schools. Too often, the report said, the Indian community works against the schools. Isolated geographically, it affords little access to such educational institutions as libraries and museums or to money-paying jobs, and does not offer Indian youth models of success through education — major factors in the high Indian dropout rate.

Some 15 per cent of Indian children aged five to seventeen are in government boarding schools, largely on the Navajo reservation. Despite often heard criticism of such schools, the report said that there were no immediate practical alternatives to boarding schools for children whose families live a migratory life or who are too far from day schools to be bused.

The pattern of Indian life, before 1950 largely confined on or near reservations, is changing. Now there has been massive migration to the cities, especially in the West and Southwest; 280,000 Indians — 38 per cent of the total — now live in such urban areas as Los Angeles, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Tulsa, and Phoenix. Urban Indian school-age children now number 16,000, but by 1980 this figure is

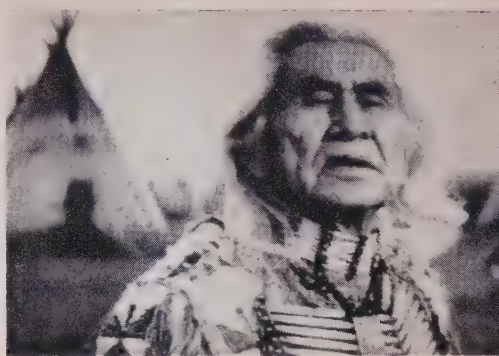
expected to rise to 75,000. The study recommended federal and state funding of up to \$7-million for special educational programs to absorb the young into the new environment.

Other recommendations included added responsibility and greater power for the two Indian Education Advisory committees already in existence, and the creation of a privately funded National Commission on Indian Education, analogous to the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, that could make a continuous survey of the quality of education and develop a field staff of Indians to help local Indian communities use their autonomy more effectively.

The report also urged the Bureau of Indian Affairs to recruit more Indian college graduates as teachers in Indian schools. Currently, only 260 out of 1,722 teachers in the government BIA schools are Indians, but this figure should rise by an estimated thousand during the 1970s. The study further urged enlisting paraprofessionals from the community to give Indian adults better insight into contemporary education.

This study of American Indian education was directed by Professor Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago. He was assisted by professors in six universities and a twelve-member advisory board, half of whom were American Indians. Copies at \$1 each are available from Training Center for Community Programs, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

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CHIEF DAN GEORGE

Will Chief Dan George receive an Oscar for his role in "Little Big Man"? It hardly matters whether he does or not, for he has already received something infinitely more precious — the respect of his fellow-man. To meet him is to meet dignity personified. Perhaps it is this quality that saw him through the difficult years. He was sent to mission school at the tender age of five. He started work at 16, driving a team in logging camps. Then came 30 years as a longshoreman in Vancouver. It is hard work, but Dan George says, "I enjoyed it!" When he injured a leg, the doctor told him to do just easy work. "There is no easy work on the waterfront," said Dan, so he went into construction work and odd jobs. It was at this time that Phil Keatley, C.B.C. producer, decided to give him a chance as "ol' Antoine" in the Cariboo series. Since that time Dan George has not had to look back. He has played on radio, T.V., the stage, and of course the films, *Smith* and *Little Big Man*. With all the current publicity, Chief Dan George never misses an opportunity in interviews to extol the image of his fellow Indians. He truly is an ambassador of his people. *From "Our Native Land," CBS Radio, Canada.*



Virginia Alice Stroud, Oklahoma Cherokee Miss Indian America XVII, as seen on the NBC "Today Show" TV screen.

NEW CONGRESSIONAL INDIAN POLICY STATEMENT NEEDED

In 1953, the 83rd Congress, using deceptively euphemistic wording, in House Concurrent Resolution 108 established the policy of terminating as rapidly as possible all special privileges of Indians, robbing them of the trust protection of the land that was guaranteed to them, and pretending to grant them the rights and prerogatives of American citizenship that they already had. The Indians know that this resolution has not been repealed. Consequently, although proposed legislation pending in Congress would give the tribes control of their own affairs without termination of federal protection, and would assist them and protect their land, many Indians regard this proposed legislation as just another scheme of deception by the federal government.

INDIAN OFFICIAL RESIGNS

Ernest Stevens, one of the top Indian staff members of the new Bureau of Indian Affairs team in Washington, D.C., announced his resignation, effective in mid-April, as Director of Community Services. Stevens, an Oneida Indian from Wisconsin, charged lack of support from the Interior Department as the main reason for his resignation. He blamed that department for reversing and holding up many of the Commissioner's policies for Indian self-determination.

Indian Commissioner Louis R. Bruce and a team of fifteen high-level Indian assistants last fall introduced new and controversial policies in the structure and operation of the BIA. Among those changes were plans for regular rotation transfer of high-level BIA field personnel — a procedure criticized by several tribal leaders who charged they were not consulted in the change.

Stevens indicated that his charges were not a blanket indictment of all field administrators. "There are only a few of those who undermine BIA policy," he said. "It is my opinion that the field people, the area directors, and the central office people can put it together for the Indians, but we must work together."

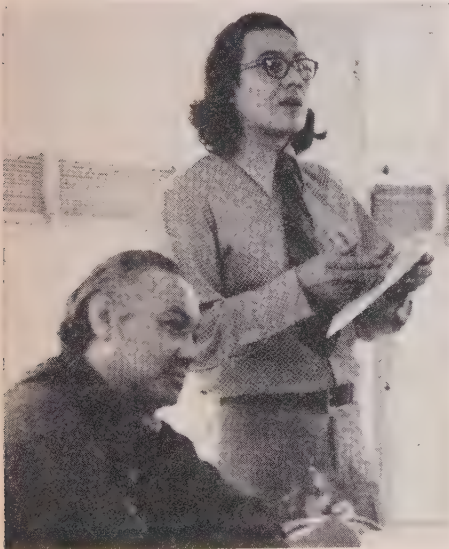
Stevens also said that other government agencies involved in Indian programs failed to support the Commissioner and the new policies in Indian affairs. "Other agencies," he said, "are in competition with the BIA, and they get money for Indian programs and receive credit for serving Indian people"

—American Indian Press Association

INDIANS OF DELAWARE VALLEY ORGANIZE

The United American Indians of the Delaware Valley has been formed for the purpose of teaching our children about their great heritage and culture. We stand for one thing: Indian-ness. If an Indian loses that he has lost his identity. We propose to think Indian at all times. We have not forgotten the many devious ways in which Indian land and lives were lost, but we are not engaged in a vendetta. There are many tribes represented in our organization, and also some non-Indians. Our program includes diverse activities to suit different interests: arts & crafts, dancing & singing, hospitality, summer activities, scholarships, and we will send representatives to meet with other Indian organizations. We hope to develop here in the Philadelphia area one of the most unified organizations of American Indians.

Mark F. N. DeMarinella, Vice-President



Mark DeMarinella and James Wahwassuck, officers of the United American Indians of the Delaware Valley.

NOTICE TO ALL INDIAN PEOPLE

In the year 1971 the biggest land fraud since the Lower 48 land wars is being perpetrated on our Alaskan Native Brothers. The buttress of Indian culture is at stake in this matter.

We urge you to no longer remain silent, for you understand your past best and know that what has happened to you is happening in Alaska today under the disguise of oil and economic development.

The Department of the Interior has completely flunked as legal trustee of the land and water rights of American Indians. These "conflicting responsibilities, obligations, interests, claims, legal theories — indeed philosophies — oftentimes prevent the Interior and Justice Department administrators, planners, engineers and lawyers from fulfilling the trust obligation, which the nation owes, to the Indians in regard to natural resources."

The proposals of the Senate Interior Committee contained in S. 35, House version H.R. 3100, and those of the Interior Department are totally unacceptable to Alaskan Native people. This is the first termination policy being imposed on Alaskan Native aboriginal titles.

We urge you to support and endorse the position of the Alaskan Native people advancing the passage of Senate Bill 835. Act now, contact the President, your representatives in the Congress, Senator Henry M. Jackson, Congressman Wayne Aspinall, Senator Fred R. Harris and Senator Edward M. Kennedy, and let them know you support our Alaskan Brothers.

Signed: LaDonna Harris, A10 Action Council; Leo Voca, National Congress of American Indians; Charles Lohah, American Indian Task Force; Don Wright, Alaska Federation of Natives March 3, 1971.

DIVERSITY: THE MEDICINE FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL

Continued from page 2

with a conscious design of doing me good, I should run for my life," wrote Henry David Thoreau. Americans of good will and generous nature have for many generations wanted to help Indians to become civilized, to assimilate, to get into the mainstream of American life, to stop being Indians and to become more "like us." They have assumed that eventually the best hope for Indians would lie in becoming successful in the dominant, non-Indian society — in other words, giving up their Indian identity and "getting lost." That is the meaning of assimilation: making similar, not cultivating diversity.

These well-wishers suppressed native languages and took children away from home for cultural and academic training in white-style schools. They relocated young Indians from impoverished reservation communities to a new life — frequently less desirable, or even intolerable — in the crowded, inhospitable cities where many Indians felt completely alienated. Missionaries taught new religions and discouraged native religions which were deeply concerned with respect for nature and giving thanks for its many blessings. Benevolent Americans helped Indians, for example, to build a cattle industry after the buffalo were gone, but soon that new way of life was drowned beneath the waters behind a huge power dam. Dedicated people even now keep seeking better opportunities for Indian students to remain in school longer, just when we are discovering that most of our existing schools are not yet tuned in

to the new values and learning styles required for human survival.

"... Is there a deficiency in our system of education and communication which prevents us from understanding any other culture or ethos, apart from our own or that of Western Europe?" asks Arnold Beichman, special correspondent for the *New York Herald-Tribune*, examining the American failure to understand the revolution in Vietnam. Underlying these warnings against Western ethnocentric education is an exciting discovery — that other cultures contain wisdom, too. This truth has been well known to thoughtful Western people for many centuries, but it seems now to be coming clear to most of us only in the glare of our new awareness of impending doom.

With the best of intentions, concerned Americans are inviting Indian people to catch up with a way of life which has become dangerously obsolete — in school, in church, and in industry. The pressure to change is familiar to Indians. For a hundred years and more they have been urged to conform or die. Now it is the powerful, affluent, dominant Space Age society which must change or die. If it dies, it will take Indians and salmon with it. We are nearing the end of "the long Dark Age called 'Civilization,'" in Leonard's words. Our future, if we have any, must take us into an Era of Ecology.

The first principle of ecology is the principle of diversity. In respect to natural conservation, biologist Reginald E. Balch advises, "We will

make no mistake in aiming at the maintenance of as rich a variety of life as our soils and climate will allow." He acknowledges that the application of this principle "may call for some sacrifice of short-term commercial interests but in the long run should prove to be good economics." When we disrupt the balance of nature in the forest and reduce its diversity, we endanger its occupants. For much the same reason we need to preserve, even to cultivate, cultural diversity among men in the world forest.

The basic issues discussed in *Uncommon Controversy* are common throughout the world. The legal, practical, and moral questions considered here apply to most of the cross-cultural controversies which are currently threatening the peace and even the continued existence of men on earth.

The moral issues have always impressed some members of the dominant society but have not yet prevented violations of Indian treaties. We are only now beginning to teach honest history in some of our schools, history which includes the point of view of black people, Indians, and other minority groups. It is possible, however, for white men to learn. Those who do learn acquire a new dimension of freedom. Even deeply prejudiced people can escape from the bonds of racism to enjoy freedom.

Many sincerely concerned people finally arrive at cross-cultural appreciation only after passing through several intermediate phases. The beginning may be astonishment that Indians, as a culturally distinct people, have not yet vanished. Indians

still exist! When non-Indians begin to learn, they are likely to be first incredulous and then shocked by the historical facts presented from a minority view. Next they may become angry, inspired perhaps by guilt inherited from the brutalities of previous generations and shared with contemporary decision-makers. From anger they may go on to pity, sympathy, charity, and even on to "helping them to help themselves." But there is such a long way to go. Paternalism can be so subtle. As Karl Gregory, professor of economics at Wayne State University, Detroit, succinctly phrased it, "No matter how benevolent you are, you are still benevolent."

The next phase is empathy. "Before judging a man," advises an old Indian maxim, "walk three moons in his moccasins." Three months is a short time, but with a culturally open mind it may be long enough to begin the last phase, appreciation of the Indian heritage and of its remarkable resistance to "vanishing." Appreciation means awareness of the positive qualities in another person or group. It is difficult because it requires one to climb out of his life-long cultural assumptions and to examine them along side of the different assumptions of another culture. It seems a long road from awareness of the very existence of Indian people to appreciation of their relevance to life in the twenty-first century. New generations of citizens of the world will, we hope, find that road more comfortable and familiar than their elders.

There have, of course, always been men gifted in cross-cultural appre-

ciation. Over a century ago George Catlin, noted artist and recorder of western Indian life, wrote about the Indians he visited before the impact of civilization hit them:

I love a people who have always made me welcome to the best they had . . . who are honest without laws, who have no jails and no poor-house . . . who never take the name of God in vain . . . who worship God without a Bible, and I believe that God loves them also . . . who are free from religious animosities . . . who have never raised a hand against me, or stolen my property, where there was no law to punish either . . . who never fought a battle with white men except on their own ground . . . and oh! how I love a people who don't live for the love of money.

Indians take their treaty promises seriously and they expect others to do the same. When non-Indians feel strongly that some change in the provisions of a treaty or its interpretation is necessary, the whole climate for constructive consideration could be brightened significantly if non-Indian diplomats would approach Indian people in a spirit of mutually respectful negotiation.

One other aspect of the moral issue which even concerned non-Indians tend to ignore is the spiritual meaning of fishing among Indians today. Fishing is more than a right, more than a way to make a living. It is a way of life — a part of life itself, an integral part of the whole artistic, religious, economic, and social life of the Northwest Coast Indians.

We have little evidence to suggest that either legal or moral concerns will bring about a constructive solution to the "uncommon controversy" over Indian fishing rights in the near future. They are important issues, and an understanding of them in this case will contribute in the long run to needed



Walter Taylor

improvements in cross-cultural legislation, adjudication, and understanding throughout the United States and perhaps the world. The greatest hope, however, for salmon, Indians, and other living things on this planet lies in our growing recognition of some hard facts of life among the practical issues raised in this salmon controversy. A few lonely voices crying out in the wilderness for a more respectful, Indian-like attitude toward nature are now gaining strength from a new source. The white power structure is getting the message and sending it out.

Until recent years most Americans felt comfortably convinced that science could always find a new way to overcome any problems it might create in the course of progress. The very word "ecology" did not appear in the English language until 1873. Now experts are urgently warning us that there are limits to our natural resources and limits to the damage

which science and technology can repair. Lynn White, Jr., professor of history at the University of California, emphasizes the practical issues, but insists that their resolution will require above all a spiritual change in our attitude toward nature:

I personally doubt that disastrous ecologic backlash can be avoided simply by applying to our problems more science and more technology . . . What we do about ecology depends on our ideas of the man-nature relationship. More science and more technology are not going to get us out of the present ecologic crisis until we find a new religion, or rethink our old one . . . we shall continue to have a worsening ecologic crisis until we reject the Christian axiom that nature has no reason for existence save to serve man. . . .

In Antiquity every tree, every spring, every stream, every hill had its own *genius loci*, its guardian spirit. . . . Before one cut a tree, mined a mountain or dammed a brook, it was important to placate the spirit in charge of that particular situation, and to keep it placated. By destroying pagan animism, Christianity made it possible to exploit nature in a mood of indifference to the feelings of natural objects. . . .

This leads us back to the moral issue, but with new power drawn from the necessity to review our relationships and attitudes toward Indians, salmon and all other living things in the light of ecological laws. Facing the practical issues squarely may bring about a finer resolution of the moral issues than Indians have experienced since the first European immigrants landed on their soil. Furthermore, even the legal issues can fall into place once we recognize the absolute authority of ecological laws and admit that they cannot be superseded by man-made laws.

We already have special communities of people with a whole heritage of devotion to the art of living in harmony with nature, namely the Indian reservations. It could benefit not only Indians, but

all men, to recognize this inherent strength so pertinent to the desperate need of our time; to subsidize these communities for special conservation services rather than denigrating them; and thus to encourage their further development of expertness in fish conservation.

By recognizing the Northwest Coast Indians as legitimate fishermen and conservationists, we could even now — late as the hour may be — benefit from the traditional conservation wisdom of Indians. The spirit of Indian fishing illustrates the continuing tendency of many Indian people to integrate work, education, play, religion, and their relationships with their environment into a whole way of life. This could serve as a model for the survival of man suffering now from too much fragmentation and not enough community feeling.

We *must* move, in the opinion of George Leonard — “to learn delight, not aggression; sharing, not eager acquisition; uniqueness, not narrow competition.” Few Americans are better equipped than Indians to teach these values so familiar among Indians, so strange in the dominant society, and so necessary for human survival.

An intelligent application of new values, attitudes, and relationships is required for an Era of Ecology. We might find that by returning some of the salmon and the spawning rivers to the care of Indians, the state of Washington could increase the amount of fish available to all fishermen, including sport and commercial fishermen. In any case, the most hopeful approach to any similar uncommon controversies must include

the cultivation of diversity and such fundamental attitudes as cross-cultural respect, dignity, and appreciation. We need a mutual exchange among culturally diverse peoples rather than the familiar one-way assistance from the "developed" nations toward cultural homogenization of the "underdeveloped."

A generation ago John Collier, an anthropologist and former U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, saw that Indians had the good medicine for human survival. He began his *Indians of the Americas* thus:

They had what the world has lost. They have it now. What the world has lost, the world must have again, lest it die. Not many years are left to have or have not, to recapture the lost ingredient. . . .

What, in our human world, is this power to live? It is the ancient, lost reverence and passion for human personality, joined with the ancient, lost reverence and passion for the earth and its web of life.

This indivisible reverence and passion is what American Indians almost universally had; and representative groups of them have it still. . . .

More than a century ago, Chief Sealth told Governor Isaac Stevens:

It matters little where we pass the remnant of our days . . . A few more moons. A few more winters — and not one of the descendants of the mighty hosts that once moved over this broad land or lived in happy homes, protected by the Great Spirit, will remain to mourn over the graves of a people — once more powerful and hopeful than yours. But why should I mourn at the untimely fate of my people? Tribe follows tribe, and nation follows nation, like the waves of the sea. It is the order of nature, and regret is useless. Your time of decay may be distant — but it will surely come, for even the White Man whose God walked and talked with him as friend with friend, can not be exempt from the common destiny. We may be brothers after all. We will see.



BOOK REVIEW

THE ROAD OF LIFE AND DEATH. A Ritual Drama of the American Indians, by Paul Radin. Pantheon Books, Inc., 1945. 345 pages. \$6.50.

Paul Radin, an anthropologist distinguished for his studies of American Indian cultures, particularly those of woodland tribes living in the Great Lake regions, wrote this study of the Winnebago religious "Medicine Rite." Radin's singular success in obtaining detailed accounts of secret ceremonies once undertaken by the Winnebago throughout their initiation and worship services offers a valuable record, historically and theologically.

The Road of Life and Death, although not a recent publication, seems especially relevant to current times because the Winnebago religion incorporated elements of Christianity with nature worship, and also made reasonable use of *peyote*, a hallucinatory drug obtained from the mescal cactus plant. The all-night meeting of the Rite, featuring singing, dancing, and smoking of the pipe, along with prayers and exhortations, furnished the men and women of the tribe with the kinds of inspiration, education, and fellowship which have marked sacred services in various cultures since time immemorial.

Radin's book is not easy to read (is theology ever comprehensible to laymen?); nevertheless its detailed, repetitive faithfulness to the performance of every ritual adds significantly to the record of mankind's persistent search for the meaning of life. A.C.R.

CURRENTLY AVAILABLE PAPERBACKS ABOUT AMERICAN INDIANS

THE SITUATION TODAY:

- Amer. Friends Service Comm.: Uncommon Controversy. U. Washington. \$2.50 1970
 Cahn: Our Brother's Keeper. World Publ. \$2.95 1969
 Cardinal: The Unjust Society. Hurtig Toronto. \$2.75 1969
 91st Congress Joint Economic Comm: Toward Economic Development, Vol. 1 & 2. U.S. Gov't. Printing Office. \$1.25 & \$1.00 1969
 91st Congress Comm. on Labor & Public Welfare: Indian Education, A National Tragedy, A National Challenge. U.S. Gov't. Printing Office. \$1.00 1969
 Deloria: Custer Died For Your Sins. Avon. \$1.25 1969/70
 Federal Field Comm. for Development & Planning in Alaska: Alaska Natives & the Land. U.S. Gov't. Printing Office. \$16.00 1968
 Fey & McNickle: Indians and Other Americans. Perennial. \$1.25 1959/70
 Havighurst: The Education of Indian Children & Youth. U. Minn. \$1.00 1970
 Hirschfelder: American Indian Authors. Amer. Assoc. Ind. Affairs. \$1.00 1970
 Indian-Eskimo Assoc.: Native Rights in Canada. 277 Victoria St., Toronto. \$10 1970
 Levine & Lurie: The American Indians Today. Pelican. \$1.95 1965/70
 Murdock: Ethnographic Bibliography of N. America. Taplinger. \$9.00
 Schusky: The Right To Be Indian. U. S. Dakota. 50¢ 1965
 Steiner: The New Indians. Delta. \$2.45 1968

CULTURE:

- Alexander: The World's Rim. U. of Nebraska Press. \$1.95 1953/
 Astrov: American Indian Prose & Poetry. Capricorn Putnam. \$2.45 1946/62
 Benedict: Patterns of Culture. Mentor. \$1.95 1934/
 Boas: Primitive Art. Dover. \$1.95 1927/55
 Brandon: American Heritage Book of Indians. Dell. 75¢ 1964
 Brown: Spiritual Legacy of the American Indians. Pendle Hill. 45¢ 1964
 Bryde: The Sioux Indian Student. Holy Rosary Mission, Pine Ridge, S.D. 1966
 Carter: The Gift is Rich. Friendship. \$1.25 1957
 Coffin: Ind. Tales of N. America. Amer. Folklore Soc. U. Texas. \$4.00 1961/63
 Collier: On The Gleaming Way. Sage. \$1.85 1949/62
 Curtis: The Indians Book. Dover. \$4.00 1907/68
 Driver: Indians of North America. U. Chicago. \$5.00 1961/65
 Drucker: Cultures of the North Pacific Coast. Chandler. \$3.95
 Embree: Indians of the Americas. Collier. \$1.50 1939/70
 Farb: Man's Rise to Civilization. Avon. \$1.25 1968/69
 Feldman: The Story Telling Stone, Myths & Tales. Dell. 60¢ 1965
 Josephy: The Indian Heritage of America. Bantam. \$1.65 1968/69
 LaBarre: The Peyote Cult. Schocken. \$2.45 1959/69
 McNickle: Indian Tribes of the U.S. Oxford. \$1.75 1962
 Mooney: The Ghost Dance Religion. U. Chicago. \$2.95
 Morey: Can The Red Man Help The White Man? Gilbert Church. \$1.95 1970
 Nequatewa: Truth Of A Hopi. Museum N. Arizona. \$2.00 1936/67
 Parson: American Indian Life. U. Nebraska. Bison. \$2.95 1922/67
 Pearce: Savagism & Civilization. Johns Hopkins U. \$2.45 1953/67
 Powers: Brotherhood Through Education. Upper Iowa U. 1965
 Sides: Decorative Arts of the Southwestern Indians. Dover. \$1.00 1936/61
 Stone: Medicine Among the American Indians. Hafner. \$2.45 1962
 Washburn: The Indian & The White Man. Anchor. \$1.95 1964
 Willoya & Brown: Warriors of the Rainbow. Naturegraph. \$2.25 1962
 Wissler: Indians of the United States. Doubleday. \$1.95 1966

FICTION:

- Berger: Little Big Man. Fawcett Crest. 95¢ 1964/70
 Borland: When The Legends Die. Bantam. 60¢ 1963/69
 LaFarge: Laughing Boy. Sentry. \$1.95 1929/63
 Momaday: House Made of Dawn. Spectrum. 95¢ 1966/69
 Pratt: Seminole. U. of Florida Press. \$2.00 1954/60
 Richter: The Light in the Forest. Bantam. 50¢ 1953/66
 Waters: The Man Who Killed The Deer. Sage. \$2.50 1942/70

CURRENTLY AVAILABLE PAPERBACKS ABOUT AMERICAN INDIANS

HISTORY:

- Colden: The History of the Five Indian Nations. Cornell U. \$1.95 1727/1969
 Collier: Indians of the Americas. Mentor. 60¢ 1947/64
 Driver: The Americas on the Eve of Discovery. Prentice-Hall. \$1.95
 Fast: The Last Frontier. Signet. 75¢ 1941/71
 Forbes: The Indian in America's Past. Spectrum. \$1.95 1964
 Jackson: A Century of Dishonor. Harper & Row. \$3.25 1884/19—
 Marriott & Rachlin: American Epic. Mentor. 95¢ 1970
 Porter: The Battle of the 1000 Slain. Scholastic Book. 60¢ 1964/68
 Spicer: A Short History of the Indians of the U.S. Anvil. \$2.95 1969
 Tatum: Our Red Brothers. U. Neb. Bison. \$1.95 1899/1970
 VanEvery: Disinherited. Discus Avon. \$1.25 1966/70

BIOGRAPHIES:

- Davis: The Truth About Geronimo. Yale. 1929/63
 Dennis: The Hopi Child. Science Wiley. \$1.95 1940/67
 Dyk: Son Of Old Man Hat. U. Neb. Bison. \$1.65 1938/67
 Jackson: Black Hawk. U. Illinois. \$1.75 1955/64
 Kroeber: Ishi. U. Calif. \$1.95 1961/67
 Linderman: Plenty-Coups. U. Neb. Bison. \$1.80 1930/62
 Lurie: Mountain Wolf Woman. Ann Arbor. \$1.75 1961/66
 Marquis: Wooden Leg, A Warrior Who Fought Custer. Bison. \$1.90 1931/
 Nabokov: Two Leggings. Apollo. \$2.25 1967/70
 Neihardt: Black Elk Speaks. U. Neb. Bison. \$1.50 1932/62
 Radin: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian. Dover. \$1.00 1920/63
 Sandoz: Crazy Horse. U. Neb. Bison. \$1.65 1942/67
 Schultz: My Life As An Indian. Fawcett Premier. 75¢ 1935/
 Seaver: A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison. Corinth. \$1.50 1961

ABOUT SPECIFIC GROUPS:

- Chance: The Eskimo of North America. Holt-Rinehart-Winston. \$1.95 1966
 Clark: Rehabilitation Program on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation. Indian Rights Association. 1961
 Dennis: The Hopi Child. Science Ed. Wiley. \$1.95 1940/67
 Forbes: Native Americans of Calif. & Nevada. Naturegraph. \$3.95
 Ghobashy: The Caughnawaga Indians. Devin-Adair. \$2.75 1961
 Gillmor & Wetherill: Traders To The Navajos. U. New Mexico. \$2.45 1934/
 Grinnell: By Cheyenne Campfires. Yale. \$1.95 1926/62
 Gullick: Cherokees At The Crossroads. U. of N. Carolina. 1960
 Harrington: Dickon Among The Lenapes. Rutgers. \$1.95
 Harrington: Dickon Among Onondagas & Senecas. Rutgers. \$1.95
 Harrington: The Iroquois Trail. Rutgers. \$1.95 1965
 Hawthorn: Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada, Vol. 1 & 2. Queen's Printer. Ottawa. \$3.00 1967
 Hoebel: The Cheyennes. Holt-Rinehart-Winston. 1960/66
 Kluckhohn & Leighton: The Navaho. Doubleday-Anchor. \$1.45 1946/62
 LaFlesche: The Middle Five. U. of Wis. \$1.65 1963
 Lange: Cochiti. S. Illinois U. Arcturus. \$4.95 1959/68
 Lowie: The Crow Indians. Rinehart. \$3.00 1935/56
 Lowie: Indians of the Plains. Natural History. \$1.95 1954/63
 McClintock: The Old North Trail (Blackfeet). U. Neb. Bison. \$2.95 1910/68
 Mead: Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe. Putnam. \$2.25 1966
 Momaday: The Way To Rainy Mountain. Ballantine. \$1.25 1969/70
 Morgan: League of the Iroquois. Corinth. \$2.95 1851/1962
 Mowat: The People of the Deer. McClelland & Stewart. Toronto. \$1.25 1951/70
 Oswalt: Alaskan Eskimos. Chandler Publ. \$3.95 1967
 Radin: The Winnebago Tribe. U. Neb. \$3.50 1923/70
 Ray, Ryan & Parker: Alaskan Native Secondary School Dropouts. U. Alaska. 1962
 Ritzenthaler: The Woodland Indians. American Museum. \$1.95 1970
 Wallace: The White Roots of Peace. Ira Friedman. \$4.00
 Wallace: Indians of Pennsylvania. Pa. Hist. & Museum Comm. \$2.00 1961
 Waters: Book of the Hopi. Ballantine. \$1.25 1963/69
 Waters: Masked Gods. Ballantine. \$1.65 1950/70
 Wilson: Apologies to the Iroquois. Random. \$1.95 1959/

INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION NEWS

A major activity of the Indian Rights Association, its staff and officers, is to respond to inquiries from the general public, largely educational and church groups, but also from many others, including Indians. We provide information to keep their interest and concern active, and to help them to understand the history and present situation of Indians, and to be able to become intelligently involved in Indian activities and policymaking. The Philadelphia office is continuously involved in a flow of correspondence and telephone calls, five or six hundred a month. Most of these inquiries are answered by our pamphlets and maps, but many require special attention and research. A very important service is offered by our Law Committee Chairman, Leo T. Connor, in response to legal questions.

Most of the requests for a speaker are forwarded to your Executive Director. Since the previous issue of INDIAN TRUTH he has spoken to six high school classes and one assembly, four church and four civic groups, in addition to conducting his regular course on American Indians at Haverford College. "Mainstream" Americans are largely ignorant about the present Indian situation, and about what Indians want. One can not be

dogmatic about what they want, there being many Indian viewpoints, and conditions are diverse. There may be more consensus about what Indians do not want. In any case the public needs to understand the similarities and differences between what many Indians want and what most other minorities want. He has represented the Indian Rights Association at an Indian conference in Washington. Mention should also be made of attendance at a movie and play: "Little Big Man," and "Indians." Both are recommended. Chief Dan George's performance in the movie has won well deserved acclaim.

This month a representative of the League of Women Voters called to ask for a list of Indians living in Philadelphia. We referred her to a new organization, United Indians of Delaware Valley, which has approximately 70 members.

An interesting telephone call came from a student at Harvard University who is promoting a film based on "Uncommon Controversy," the study of the fishing rights of the Indians of the Northwest made by the American Friends Service Committee. His interest was stimulated by a fellow student at Harvard, Vine DeLoria's brother.

Association News continued on page 16



Contributions and bequests should be made payable to the

INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION

1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

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FROM OUR CONSTITUTION OF 1884:

"Everyone interested in the work of the Association is asked to aid in it by becoming a member. Every such member aids by his annual contribution. He may, if he will, assist by active work in the following ways, viz: He is kept in receipt of pamphlets on Indian matters and informed of the work of the Association, and so may enlighten others in his locality on a subject on which most are ignorant or misinformed. Thus is created an intelligent public interest which must influence legislation."

NEW STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Board of Directors of the Indian Rights Association, at its February meeting, approved the following rewording of its statement of purpose.

The purpose of this Association is to enlist the aid of our fellow citizens to support and cooperate with American Indians in their efforts to advance their welfare and to promote their legal and human rights.

Particularly, we seek to help Indians secure rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution, Treaties and Statute, and help them procure the full rights and privileges of citizenship.

We support the Indians' basic right to self-determination. We recognize their desire to maintain their Indian identity, and value the Indian heritage of our country. At the same time, we actively support the right of every Indian to be given full opportunity through education and other means to make his way in full participation in contemporary society.

ARE YOU A MEMBER?

If not, we earnestly invite you to join us in our purpose of bringing to American Indians the rights and opportunities due them. This year can be the year of Indian opportunity because of proposed legislation that is favorable to them.

All who receive INDIAN TRUTH are asked to use the enclosed folder and the coupon on this page to bring the Indian Rights Association to the attention of potential new members, to help us expand our work in Indian affairs. Each one reach one!

NOTICE OF ANNUAL MEETING

The eighty-eighth annual meeting of the Indian Rights Association will be held on the afternoon of Wednesday the 21st of April at 4:00 o'clock, in St. Peter's school building, 319 Lombard St., Philadelphia.

Theodore Hetzel, Executive Director, will give an illustrated talk about his visits to Indians on behalf of the Association. This will be followed by the annual business meeting, refreshments and opportunities for conversation and discussion of the work of the Association. It is hoped that this scheduling of the business meeting will make it possible for city businessmen to attend. We especially hope that our many new members and contributors will be present.

All photographs by Theodore Hetzel.

The Indian Rights Association is a non-sectarian, non-partisan organization supported by the contributions of its members and friends. It strives to keep acquainted with American Indians and informed about their problems and desires, so as to assist them as best we can, and to inform our members and the public generally about contemporary Indians.

Since 1882 we have helped Indians defend the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution, by statutes and treaties, we have helped them obtain the full rights and privileges of citizenship, and also the right to manage their own affairs and to maintain their unique identity. We wish Indian communities to be able to survive in accord with their own desires, and individuals to be prepared to live either in Indian communities or in the "mainstream", as they may desire.

The Indian Rights Association keeps in touch with governmental Indian affairs and cooperates with their agencies which are concerned about Indians. It publishes a periodical, "Indian Truth" containing news, articles and book reviews about current affairs.